

THE  
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MONTHLY*

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EDITORS

EGBERT C. SMYTH,  
WILLIAM J. TUCKER,  
EDWARD Y. HINCKS,  
J. W. CHURCHILL,  
GEORGE HARRIS,

*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary*

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

PROFESSORS JOHN P. GULLIVER, JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR,  
GEORGE F. MOORE, AND FRANK E. WOODRUFF.

*Their Colleagues in the Faculty*



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EDITED BY

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GEORGE HARRIS, EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the  
cooperation and active support of their colleagues in the Faculty,*

*Professors JOHN P. GULLIVER, JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR,  
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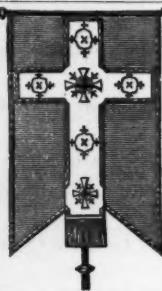
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THE QUESTION RESTATED.

In the discussion of difficult questions, especially if they make a strong appeal to natural human feeling or have become somewhat artificially connected with important human interests, nothing is more indispensable than to have such questions lucidly and definitely stated. To the eye of reason, as to the eye of sense, an image cannot be correctly interpreted unless it be first clearly formed. Even prejudiced persons are sometimes ready to pass judgment against their own favorite opinions when some new statement of the conclusions which these opinions involve reveals for the first time what is the real meaning of them. On the other hand, it is rarely possible to secure any approach toward an unprejudiced answer to a difficult question, from one who has never even stated for himself precisely *that* question to the exclusion of other questions that might be mistaken for it.

Reflections like those made above are particularly pertinent at the present time with reference to certain much mooted theological questions ; and among them all perhaps to none more so than to the question of "the inspiration of the Bible." Even the common usage of the term "inspiration" both embodies and reveals the truth of which I am speaking. The very word has come to be restricted in theological circles so as to occasion much confusion, not to say some mischief and loss to the cause of right and safe thinking. Led on by this usage, new writers continue to argue as though the traditional term, together with the traditional assumption which it implies, must be made to comport with the newly discovered facts of physical, psychological, historical, and critical science. The result of such trials is in each case a so-called *theory* of inspiration ; and by "theory of inspiration" is generally understood some subtle and occult way of explaining how the time-hon-

ored assumption which has given currency to our usage may possibly be reconciled with the above mentioned classes of facts. For a brief time only, each modification of the one theory covered by the term secures a number of advocates. But others recognize and confess the failure of all such endeavors at modification. They therefore distrust or abjure every attempt to construct a so-called theory of inspiration. Finding their minds disturbed only the more seriously by every such attempt, they conclude that the only way to secure mental relief is to withdraw the attention both from the causes of disturbance and from the often recurring trials to remove them. But a thoroughly reasonable mind can scarcely remain satisfied either with any of the answers proposed or with the determination to cease seeking for an answer. Now there can be little doubt that one principal reason for the prevalent unsatisfactory treatment of this question of "inspiration" is to be found in the inadequate or mistaken statement of the nature of the question.

With a certain risk of being for the moment liable to misunderstanding, but with confidence that subsequent explanation on my part and reflection on the part of the reader will make clear my meaning, I will venture this assertion: The real question about the Bible can no longer be stated or discussed as a so-called theory of inspiration. The real question has now become much broader than any which can be covered by such a theory, as all such theories have heretofore been understood. And further, if we intend to continue to convey by our words only the ideas which have become historically attached to them, we must restate the question.

The inquiry which can be undertaken and more or less successfully answered, is the following: *What is the Bible?* And this is a far greater and more honorable inquiry than the one usually proposed under the traditional term. This one inquiry, however, includes a large number of subordinate questions; and among the latter is the question as to the nature, extent, and effect of that divine influence which, as Christians generally believe, was operative in the minds of the men who composed the various separate writings of the Bible. That is to say, the question of the inspiration of the writers of the Bible must be merged in the larger question, *What is the Bible?*

But another one of the subordinate questions which fall under the one main inquiry, *What is the Bible*, concerns the formation of the canon of the Old and New Testaments. No one human personality, however generously and infallibly inspired, was the

author of all portions of the Bible. Nor was any such personality divinely authorized to select just those ancient writings or fragments of writings which could be properly admitted into the class which it is now customary to regard as inspired. The Christian church, acting in the different divisions of its ancient domain, without a fully self-conscious purpose, and yet with commendable tact and insight, distinguished in the course of its development what books it would receive into the circle of its sacred Scriptures. But this process in the Christian church began with assuming certain writings to be sacred which the Jewish church had considered such. It was as members of this more ancient community that the Apostles and earliest trusted teachers of the Christian church accepted in substantially its present form the canon of the Old Testament. It is quite impossible, then, to speak of "inspiration" as belonging to *the Bible*, — that is, to a collection of several score of widely different writings, — without attributing such inspiration to the mind of the church that collected the writings. A single passage or book of Scripture might, indeed, be called inspired if its author were personally influenced by the Divine Spirit in such way as to affect his composition with the quality of such influence. But how can a large collection of such writings — that is, *the Bible* — be called inspired, unless the same Spirit had also some influence in determining the limits of the collection? In other words, a number of diverse compositions can in no sense be ascribed to one source unless some discrimination as to *what* composition shall enter the number be exercised by that source.

It is true that the individual Christian has it in his power to go through this collection of writings, and select such as make upon him the impression of being inspired, and to say that the term inspiration, in his judgment, applies to these selections alone. But this would only substitute an individual's judgment for the organic and historical judgment of the church. Such judgment would have only so much of worth as belongs to the judge regarded as competent or incompetent. And this is true whether the individual accept all the canonical books (Protestant or Roman Catholic) or reject some. Must it not be held, then, that the inspiration of the Bible depends in some sort upon the inspiration of the church regarded as fixing the canon or limits of the collection of writings called the Bible? Of course, the next question inevitably is, How shall we prove that inspiration of the church on which the inspiration of the Bible, regarded as a limited number of selected writings, in part at least depends?

But the two questions as to the inspiration of any particular part of Scripture, and as to the inspiration which we attribute to the Bible considered as a circumscribed whole, are themselves dependent upon answers to a great variety of other questions. They are both, together with these other questions, subordinate to one inquiry inclusive of them all. This inclusive inquiry is of course the one which I have already repeatedly stated; namely, What is the Bible? Plainly the answer to this question involves a vast number of considerations. Among such considerations are those furnished by the critical study of the text of the Bible. As it appears to readers of English only, the Bible is a certain form of English words printed upon paper, according to the so-called "authorized" or the so-called "revised" version. This form of English words is what two different sets of translators, working some centuries apart, have thought to be the meaning of the Hebrew Old Testament and of the Greek New Testament. What, then, is the Hebrew Old Testament? To this question the reply must be, It is for the most part the Massoretic text; or, in other words, it is that combination of the traditional way of writing the consonants and the traditional way of reading in the vowels, which was fixed on Talmudic authority during a process (quite uncritical) that lasted for several centuries. Back of this process, in trying to fix the text of the sacred Hebrew writings, we are carried more and more into regions of doubt and obscurity. As to the Greek New Testament, it is not necessary to speak of the studies by which,—on the basis of various manuscripts whose relative value is a matter of dispute, with a large number of minute and some important differences, and with only more or less of probability, but with good assurance concerning most matters of great importance,—we answer inquiries into the nature and origin of its text.

It is plain matter of fact, then, that the inquiry, What is the Bible? is in part a question as to certain ancient Hebrew and Greek texts, and that we have no means of bridging over completely the vast gap of the centuries which lies between us and the authors of Scripture, so as to reach the details of these texts. It is also plain matter of reasoning from such a fact that no ready-made theory of the inspiration of the Bible can contribute anything whatever toward the true answer to this question of texts. Diplomatic and historical criticism is alone competent to attempt the answer. On the other hand, no theory of inspiration can refuse, and at the same time maintain a claim to be intelligent and reasonable, to take full account of the answer of criticism.

And when I say "refuse," I do not mean to speak simply of such refusal as is avowed and theoretical, as was, for example, the most high and dry form of the post-Reformation dogma. I mean to speak also of such concealed and practical refusal as has characterized all the more modern attempts to revive with modifications that fainting and falling dogma. It is absolutely beyond the power of any similar theory of the inspiration of the Bible to tell us what the Bible is, so far as its text is concerned. Such theory has nothing to say about what the Biblical text *must* be, or *ought* to be. It is no teacher in such matters, and never can become one; it should go humbly to school to critical science to learn what the Biblical text *probably was*. In this regard a modified form of the dogma is not a whit more competent than the original form was.

What has just been shown to be true of the question of the text of the Bible is also true of the question of its alleged historical inaccuracies and discrepancies. One partial answer to the large inclusive question, What is the Bible? must always be, It is history. But what kind of history is the Bible? In reply to this further inquiry there are certain answers which any reader of Scripture may make without being in possession either of accurate critical knowledge or of correct theological dogma. The New Testament is the history of the life of Jesus and of the founding of the Christian church. The Old Testament is the history of the beginnings of things in human history and of the rise and growth and fall of the Jewish commonwealth. Any intelligent student of the world's past and of the transactions of other peoples and nations can see that the Biblical narrative is in several respects quite unique and of intense interest and large value. Any devout person can also see that much of this narrative is suffused with religious feeling. But only the Christian reader intuitively discerns the rare and priceless worth for his Christian faith and life of the history of his Lord and of the Apostles; only such a reader feels his religious needs met in what the Old Testament communicates to him of the stages and transactions of that preparatory historical revelation upon which this Lord and these Apostles so largely builded.

But other questions besides the foregoing arise in connection with the question, What is the Bible in so far as it is historical? Is the Bible, like all other history, dependent for its accuracy upon contemporaneous records of its alleged facts? Is there any need of critical sifting with a view to discover and compare the sources

of its history? Do elements of uncertain traditions enter into any of its historical books or historical passages? Did the writers themselves in each case attempt carefully to distinguish between two partially conflicting oral traditions or written records of the same event? and did they, having made such distinction, select and arrange the most authentic elements of each tradition so as to form one consistent account? Or did they not, rather, in many cases act after the prevalent custom of historians in their day, and leave the conflicting oral traditions or written records standing unreconciled side by side? Are there not apparent discrepancies between the statements of different Biblical authors; or between the statements of Biblical authors and other contemporaneous records; or even between different statements of the same Biblical author? If there are such apparent discrepancies, are they real discrepancies? Do the writers of sacred history make any claim or give any evidence of knowing any other method of arriving at an accurate knowledge of historical truth than the method of either recalling carefully what they had themselves seen and heard, or of taking such oral or written testimony as they could best obtain from others?

The questions raised above, and other similar ones, are subordinate inquiries entering into the one larger inquiry, What is the Bible? But they are questions which it belongs solely to historical criticism to deal with, and, if possible, to answer. The correct answer to any of them requires an equipment of historical *sense*, historical training, historical apparatus, historical information. With this answer the ready-made theological theory of the inspiration of the Bible has nothing whatever, primarily and directly, to do. On the contrary, no such theory can be framed with the hope to keep it a long time standing, unless it humbly and patiently learn what historical science has to say upon these questions. A theological dogma dictating how these questions *must* be, or *ought* to be, answered is a worthless impertinence; historical science is obligated to do what it best can to discover how they *probably are* to be answered.

That there is a demand and a place for another kind of *sense* than the historical in understanding and using the sacred narratives, I should by no means wish to be understood to deny. This kind of sense, however, is spiritual insight into the real meaning and immense value of the facts which historical science discriminates and establishes. Of course I am not alluding to that unjustifiable allegorizing of the sacred history which was for centuries the

strong support of every attempt to reconcile its inspiration with its apparent inaccuracies and discrepancies. The Biblical revelation is historical; it is, indeed, most significantly this. It is specifically and preëminently the making of God known as the Redeemer of men through Christ, *in history*. The unlearned Christian believer can discern this fact; the learned theologian has the task of stating and defending this truth. But neither of the two can affirm, on the ground of untrained Christian feeling or of adherence to accepted theological symbols, anything worthy of a moment's consideration regarding the sources, the method, the accuracy, the inerrancy of any of the Biblical histories. For all these latter things are historically discerned; they all concern questions of fact, on just such probable evidence as belongs to the very nature of human history.

It needs but little reflection for any educated and unprejudiced mind to appreciate the reasons on which we can rest the foregoing perfectly invulnerable declarations. We are separated by centuries from the time when the historical statements of the Bible were first committed to writing; in many cases the original act of committing these past facts to writing was itself separated by many centuries from the facts themselves. The chain that connects us with that remote but precious past is in all such inquiries a chain of purely historical evidences. This is true, even if we appeal to the authority of the tradition of the church; for this tradition is itself an historical affair. It is also true if we appeal to so-called Christian consciousness as the organic experience of the body of Christian believers with respect to the great truths of the Christian faith and life. For this experience testifies to Christ inasmuch as it is a consciousness of present communion with Him as the risen Lord; but in so far as it is immediate and personal it reaches only the present; and in so far as it is organic it is of the nature of an historical witness. When, then, the rough hand of dogmatism grasps this chain of historical evidences (as flexible but also as strong as a fine chain of wrought gold) it is almost certain either to smirch or to snarl what it grasps. I say the hand of "dogmatism," for the trained theologian of to-day knows that, in order to be *trained* as a theologian, he must either be himself an expert in historical studies, or else be acquainted with his obligations to those who are thus expert.

But an improved way of making a theory of the inspiration of the Bible dominate historical criticism, and force into its framework of dogma the more uncompromising historical facts, is some-

times proposed. This improved theory aims to make *Logic* the handmaid of Theology in order to show History and Criticism what conclusions they ought to draw. It is to be applied especially to the very old and time-honored work of "harmonistics." Logic is to show the philologist, the historian, the exegete, the critic, how his task of examining patiently the records, in order to find out exactly what the facts were upon which the apparent discrepancies of the sacred historians are founded, may be summarily accomplished. This logic is called "inductive;" for no other logic than the inductive can, of course, serve the purposes of applied science, whether physical or historical; and we must, by all means, be scientific in these days of scientific development. But in reality the logic called inductive is, so far as it is applicable at all to help out the theory in whose service it is engaged, not inductive at all, but solely and strictly deductive from the theory itself. Its reasoning is made superficially valid in the following way. Major premise: On general and sufficient grounds we arrive at the conclusion that the Biblical historians are worthy of our confidence both as respects their perfect honesty and their general accuracy. Minor premise: All particular cases of apparent discrepancy among these historians come under the above-mentioned general rule. Therefore these cases *must be* interpreted as cases of only apparent, and not real, discrepancies; and we are at liberty, and even bound, to show how the discrepancies are all to be reconciled and the perfect accuracy and inerrancy of the historians are to be saved.

Against such an application of inductive logic to the case of the Biblical histories in the effort to make a certain theory of the inspiration of the Bible agree with the facts which Biblical historical science discloses, these two conclusive objections may be opposed. In the first place, the argument, so far as it is inductive at all, is an imperfect and worthless induction. No trained historian would for a moment think of making or permitting any such use of so-called logic. In the second place, the argument, so far as it is logical, is deductive. It is only another form of saying over again the same thing that has always been said for every form of the post-Reformation dogma — said, and found wanting, over and over again. In brief: *the argument so far as it is inductive is not logical, and so far as it is logical is not inductive.* It does not really help in the reestablishment of even a modified form of that theory of inspiration which it is intended to serve. And with respect to the true answer of the great and

pressing inquiry, What is the Bible? or, What is the true doctrine of sacred Scripture? it contributes nothing at all.

I have said that the modified form in which such a theory of inspiration proposes to disregard the results of historical science already attained toward answering the one great and inclusive question as to the origin and nature of sacred Scripture is not a perfect induction. To make good my objection to such an argument I have only to appeal to the universal and well-recognized principles of all historical inquiry. The major premise of the above-mentioned argument is indeed tolerably satisfactory. We do on sufficient grounds conclude that "the Biblical historians are worthy of our confidence both as respects their honesty and their general accuracy." But the conclusion itself is one that historical inquiries alone are competent to reach; and whether there are any exceptions to the accuracy or even honesty of these writers is also a subject for the same kind of inquiries. On the contrary, it is not a subject for dogmatizing in the name of logic. Moreover, the same inquiries have to be continued in perfect good faith throughout, in order to discover how far the rule of "general" accuracy extends. And neither so-called "logic" nor dogma can establish any rule upon the matter in disregard of the very fact of a great number of apparent exceptions to this "general" accuracy. That is to say, no rule extending to several score of different writings and to thousands of different facts can be constituted as an induction without taking the exceptions first into the account; it can never be established in disregard of *some* of the very facts, all of which it is bound to provide for. But the minor premise also of this argument is an imperfect induction; for the very inquiry which historical science raises with regard to the particular cases of apparent discrepancy is just this: Do they come under such a general rule? Do they not rather show that general accuracy is perfectly compatible with more or less of inaccuracy and of real discrepancy in matters of detail? The conclusion of an "inductive" argument the premises of which almost avowedly disregard facts is of course utterly unwarranted. Neither inerrancy nor the possibility of reconciling all apparent discrepancies is the proper conclusion of historical proof establishing the general good faith and trustworthiness of an author of annals or history. The conclusion is simply as to his general good faith and trustworthiness; simply this and nothing more. In other words, no amount of logic can really make any thing more or other out of an author's historical credibility than what critical and historical inquiry

makes. The conclusion from confidence in the good faith and general trustworthiness of an author to his absolute inerrancy can never be made valid by any twist of logic or necessity of theology.

But, on the other hand, the conclusion from the apparent mistakes in memory, the apparent inaccuracies and gaps in the information of an author of history, to his general want of good faith and of trustworthiness, may be the result of either a valid or an invalid induction. When two honest and intelligent eye and ear witnesses differ with respect to many of the details in their narrative, we are not obliged either to give the lie to one of the two or else to show how both may be absolutely accurate in their narration. We simply say, two honest and intelligent witnesses when meaning to tell the exact truth, even about what they have themselves seen and heard, usually differ; and yet we do not despair because of their differences of arriving at substantial historical truth. But when witnesses are telling not what they have themselves seen and heard, but what is the tradition or recorded statement of facts from a remote or nearer past as derived from various sources, they invariably differ. Biblical science has to discover whether the Biblical histories are exceptions to this otherwise universal rule. It must make up its mind; that is, form its induction in view of all the facts, without torture, concealment, or prevarication concerning any of them. And in the process of this induction as conducted by fair and competent students of history dogmatic conclusions under the guise of inductive logic cannot be permitted to interfere.

For, as has already been said, the reasoning which here appears under the guise of induction is really deduction from a preconceived theological theory. Logic in Biblical hermeneutics and history is almost always deductive. Properly speaking, it is not logic at all in the sense intended. It is really dogma telling exegesis what the Bible must mean; telling historical inquiry that the histories of the Bible must be assumed to harmonize throughout, and how they can be forced to seem to harmonize. The world of scholars is very familiar with all this; the world of the common people is learning about it. It is the same spirit of "harmonizing" which long ago proposed the theory that all our Lord's ancestors from David downwards had two names; or that the inscriptions over his cross were written in several different languages so as to correspond verbatim to the Greek translations given in the four Evangelists. This so-called "logic," I repeat, is not exegesis

trying to answer, by fair induction, the question, What is the Bible? It is not historical research applying itself diligently to the answer of the same question. It is not fine, intelligent Christian feeling striving to justify its valid, but somewhat misplaced, confidence in the precious records of the past time when the kingdom of its Lord and of his Christ was founded. It is not even the doctrine of the church catholic, aiming at the unity of Christian consciousness, nor is it the claim of the Bible itself. It is only dogma,—in the guise of logic, perhaps, but not so disguised as to deceive any one familiar with the time-worn form,—dogma trying to force an induction by deduction from its own unverified assumptions.

The point has been reached, however, where attention needs to be recalled to the main subject under discussion. The inquiry which demands all the resources of broad, rich Christian scholarship, and of candid and profound Christian reflection, is the inquiry into the origin and nature of those sacred Scriptures which are the records of our holy religion. In other words, it is the question, What is the Bible? This is a question at which many workmen may well labor in common zeal of endeavor and substantial concord upon the important truths of Christianity. But there are still not a few who insist upon restricting this inquiry, in the supposed interests of the Bible. The question which is proposed by such is often stated in terms that tend to confuse it with the larger and more comprehensive question. Confusion arises, because the inquiry as to a tenable theory of the inspiration of the Bible is substituted, without its real significance being understood, for the inquiry into a true doctrine of sacred Scripture. The result of such a substitution is what might be expected. All the effort of inquiry is directed toward making some such slight modification in the traditional theory as shall seem to adapt it a little better to some of the facts of modern Biblical study. But it is still understood that *some* theory of inspiration must be framed which will make the entire Bible, in every chapter and verse, the result of just the same kind of divine infallible activity. The Bible, that is, must all be accounted for by its phenomena being without exception deductively related alike to one and the same kind of inspiration. Now because such a theory was actually framed in substantial coherence by the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,—by Hollaz and Gerhard, and Calovius and Buddeus, and Benner and Buchner, and Carpzov and Quenstedt,—it might seem that their theory could be modified so as to remain substantially the same and yet comport with the answer to the other and larger

question, What is the Bible? For the entire procedure of these stalwart theologians was based upon the assumption that the two inquiries, What is the orthodox theory of the inspiration of the Bible? and, What is the Bible? are one and the same inquiry. But, as every body who understands the history of their efforts knows, these post-Reformation theologians did not intend to admit that any serious account should be taken of adverse facts in framing their theory. For that very reason their conclusion was a perfectly consistent and inflexible "theory of inspiration." It told men what the Bible is by telling them what the Bible must be in order to accord with a satisfactory theory of inspiration. Its advocates had no intention of leaving any room for deciding the inquiry, What is the Bible? by an appeal to history, to criticism, to the facts and statements of the Bible itself. Nor was room left for ethical or Christian consciousness to exercise its function in approving or testing with the freedom imparted by the spirit of Christ any portion of Scripture.

The statement of the question and its accepted settlement among the post-Reformation theologians excites admiration for its heroic thoroughness. The question, What is the Bible? so far as its text is concerned, was with these "logicians" a question, not for textual criticism, but for the "theory of inspiration" to answer. This theory assumed once for all that the *ipsissima verba* of the entire Bible were from the Holy Ghost. But in order to be of any value it was compelled also to assert the infallibility and inspiration of the pointing of the Hebrew text. For, of course, what and where are these *ipsissima verba* except the *text*, and *in the text*? Hence the following conclusions of that logic in which such dogmatists excel: "It is impious and profane audacity," said Calovius, "to change a single point in the Word of God (that is, the canonical writings), and to substitute a smooth breathing for a rough one, or a rough for a smooth." The "Formula Consensus Helvetica" declared the consonants and vowel-points alike theopneustic, and condemned the studies of those who subject the readings of the received text to a critical examination.<sup>1</sup> It is true that voices were raised in behalf of a freer view; and that not all, even of these theologians, were ready to go to the lengths of extreme orthodoxy and to make the origin of the Hebrew vowel-points contemporaneous with Moses or even with Adam. We are not, however, considering the truth or untruth of the older dogmatic as contrasted with

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed statement of the post-Reformation theory of inspiration see "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture," vol. ii., pp. 175-215.

the newer critical views of the sacred text; we are, rather, calling attention to the fact that the very raising of the question in this form, What theory of the inspiration of the Bible shall we adopt as a supposed necessity of faith?—has from the beginning been opposed to the answer which Biblical scholarship is trying to discover for the larger question, What is the Bible?

It might naturally be supposed that the method of procedure which the theory of so-called verbal inspiration felt itself compelled to employ has been abandoned with the theory itself. Such a supposition, however, would be in the teeth of a daily experience. Certainly there are now, in the light of modern textual criticism, very few advocates of the theory of verbal inspiration. Occasionally some one bolder than his comrades, even in the more conservative circles of theology, openly opposes this now venerable theory. But it is not with this special form of a theory that fault is to be found. A theory of verbal inspiration has much to commend it. Fault is rather to be found with the entire method of dealing with the Biblical question which this theory adopted, and which all theories of the class to which this theory belongs uniformly adopt. That such method is by no means abandoned, witness the writings of Dean Burgon and his sympathizers; witness the prevalent tenderness with respect to all attempts to discover the best Biblical text; witness the constant but covert introduction of dogma into the efforts to decide which is in each case the *best* text. The conclusions of the theory of verbal inspiration I believe to be partially right; the method I know to be wholly wrong. But how many of the same "logicians" who are ready to abandon the right conclusions of the theory when those conclusions are reached in another and right way, are most persistent in clinging by its inadequate and misleading method!

The same method which the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries employed with respect to the text of the Bible they also employed with respect to its historical statements. These statements were shown to be absolutely free from all slips of memory, inaccuracies of names or dates, and discrepancies in every kind of details, by strict deduction from the accepted theory of inspiration. In other words, the answer to the narrower inquiry after a theory of inspiration was made to dominate the broader inquiry into the origin and nature of sacred Scripture, with respect now to history as well as with respect to text. What little historical science then existed was, when applied to the Bible, put under bans not to find anything adverse to the theory of these

logicians. Wonderful attempts at accounting for its apparent historical discrepancies, so as at all hazards to save the theory,—attempts which put to shame the ingenuity in allegorizing of the church Fathers,—were after a time the inevitable result. But steadily did historical criticism, working with certain vagaries of judgment (for example, in the Tübingen School), but on the whole with much of that good sense and tact which the trained historian shows, win its way into the confidence of Biblical scholars. More and more did it take upon itself the sole responsibility for the answer to the question, What, so far as the origin and nature and trustworthiness of its separate historical writings are concerned, must the Bible be held to be? The theory of inspiration—in all important respects, and especially with respect to its method, the same as of old—has stoutly contested the results of historical research whenever these results did not come out into full accord with the theory itself. Its attitude is to-day substantially unchanged. It still proposes, as far as possible, to settle what the nature of the Biblical histories must be, instead of candidly accepting from students of Biblical history the evidence as to what those histories, *as histories*, probably are. And the few more recent attempts at so-called harmony, which are guided by the same principle as that which ruled in the earlier dogmatics, have omitted none of the most objectionable features of the older attempts, while they quite lack that elevation of tone and thorough consistency and courage of conviction which these older attempts displayed.

The same course of remarks which has thus far been applied to the Biblical text and to the historical statements of the Bible might be extended to all the classes of phenomena with which Biblical study has to deal. As regards the authorship and style of the Biblical books, the relations of their contents to the physical and psychological sciences, the interpretation of the claims of the Bible for itself, and even its ethical maxims, the larger general inquiry, What is the Bible? must be raised and answered without dictation from any modified form of a theory of inspiration.

But it will be asked, Are not the two inquiries under discussion one and the same? When the candid student inquires as to a theory of the inspiration of the Bible, does he not virtually ask to be told what the Bible is? Doubtless the two inquiries have been proposed as though they were equivalent. But this is the very fact the embarrassment and mischief of which it is in part the purpose of this article to bring to view. That the two inquiries

are regarded as equivalent is without doubt a source of continued error and repeated discouragement; but it is also a traditional result of the dogmatics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The early Christian church had no theory of the inspiration of the Bible, in the meaning attaching itself to those words since the establishment of the post-Reformation dogma. The early church had indeed the germs of a true doctrine of sacred Scripture; it unquestionably regarded the writings of the Old Testament and of the Apostles as inspired. But it regarded not a few other writings also as inspired. The more important fact is, however, that it regarded the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (when after several centuries a canon of such Scriptures had been formed) as the sacred and authoritative records of its holy religion. Of course, then, these records were inspired: that fact, we may say, to the minds of the men of that time needed no proof. Some of the writers of the early church show, in a gerinal way, a tendency toward a certain theory of inspiration, that is, of the nature of that divine influence which comes upon all inspired men. But a theory of inspiration, as a special divine influence limited to precisely so many writings and provided in order to secure an infallible Bible, is not to be found advocated by the early Christian church. Nor does the Bible itself afford any encouragement whatever to such a theory. It first grew into elaborate form under the polemical exigencies of the post-Reformation era. We inherit its fruits, both good and evil. Its very nature requires that each subordinate answer to the question, What is the Bible? shall be given in strict accord with, if not strictly deduced from, its own answer to the question, What is the inspiration of the Bible? Now no attempt at modifying the answer given by post-Reformation dogmatics to this latter question can ever succeed in contributing anything of permanent value toward answering the former question. An improved answer to this latter question can come only as one subordinate but important result of our answer to the former question.

To state our conclusion once more, in a somewhat different way: The Christian church, through its own workmen, the body of Christian Biblical scholars, is earnestly inquiring after a true and, because true, a tenable doctrine of sacred Scripture. It is striving, by use of all the helps at hand, to satisfy the inquiry, What is the Bible? It is greatly embarrassed and hindered because so many minds insist that the answer to this larger inquiry shall be determined beforehand in accordance with some modified form of

the traditional answer to a much narrower question. It is not a theory of the inspiration of the Bible, even in such form as to account for the facts, which is the primary object of search. The Bible did not originate in subordination to a theory of inspiration. It was not originally revered, trusted, and obeyed, on the ground of the tenable nature of any such theory. Its authority is not now dependent upon, or even intimately connected with, the prevalence of any such theory. But every such theory is wholly dependent upon its being a part of the true answer to that one inclusive question, *What is this Bible* which Christians from time immemorial have, without theory, revered, trusted, and obeyed? The method and means for answering so vast and noble a question must be discussed at another time.

*George T. Ladd.*

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

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#### KURDISTAN AND THE KURDS.

THE early traditions of Persia tell of a king of such exceeding cruelty that as a punishment two serpents were sent to make their home, one in each shoulder, and prey upon his flesh. This proved, however, instead of a lesson to repentance, an occasion for still greater crime. Reasoning that it made little difference to the serpents whose flesh they fed upon, the king had, every morning, two of his subjects killed, and their bodies presented to his tormentors till they so gorged themselves as to leave him in peace. The victims were drawn by lot from among the most vigorous young men of the kingdom, regardless of rank or influence. Terror soon, however, devised a partial remedy. By heavy bribes the king's attendants were induced, every morning, to spare one of the two thus drawn, and substitute a sheep when the serpents should have so far satisfied their appetite as to be careless of taste. Those who were thus freed fled to the mountains of Demavend, organized themselves into a tribe, and, gathering to their numbers the disaffected from every region round about, became in their turn a terror and scourge.

Such, according to their own annals, is the origin of the Kurdish race, which is gradually coming into notice as a prominent element in the solution of national as well as political problems in Western Asia.

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*Kurdistan and the Kurds.*

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There has been as yet but little research into their history or language, and their geography must be learned piecemeal from that of surrounding and interwoven peoples. The Kurds themselves have been looked upon as little more than bands of outlawed mountaineers whose sole business was murder and pillage. Early in the present century Mr. Rich, British resident at Bagdad, made quite a tour through southern Kurdistan, and found many indications of a most interesting people. Others since have had a like experience, and it is becoming evident that a comparatively small number of tribes have given character to a great race.

The term Kurdistan is used in several senses. The most common European acceptance makes it cover the mountainous region from Ararat to near Bagdad,—lying mostly in Turkey, but including a narrow strip of Persia.

In the Turkish use it embraces the provinces or vilayets of Erzroom, Van, Bitlis, Hakkiali, and Diarbekir. This is coincident with the extent of the British consulate general of Kurdistan.

Persian Kurdistan is composed of two provinces, one south of Lake Oroomiah, including the city of Sihna; the other, Luristan, extending to the borders of Shiraz.

Kurdish Kurdistan, the country claimed by the Kurdish history,—the “Shereef Na’ameh,”—is far more extensive than even these two combined. Its boundary lines run as follows:—

Starting from Kars,—now the southwest province of the Caucasus,—they pass through the Passen Plain to Erzroom, then to Erzingan and the edge of the Sivas Plain,—the high tableland of Central Asia Minor,—then south, skirting the Taurus and crossing the range at Albistan; leaving Marash, Aintab, and Aleppo on the west, but taking in Birjik, on the Euphrates, and Oorfa, they make a detour easterly to include the Sinjar Hills,—Djebel Sinjar,—and cross the Tigris at Mosul,—ancient Nineveh; from Mosul they run southeast, following the range of Djebel Hamreen across the Persian boundary to Dizful, then on to near Shiraz, the southern limit. The northerly course from Shiraz is very direct to Ararat and Kars, skirting Ispahan and including Zinjan, but following the western rather than the eastern borders of Lake Oroomiah and the plains to the north.

These large boundaries will appear more significant if we glance at some of the districts included by them. Commencing again at the north, we have the greater part of Armenia,—noticeably the plains of Alashgerd, Mush, and Harpoot. On the east lies the

Nestorian country; then comes northern Mesopotamia, the plain of Arbela, and a long section of old Persia. To the west, also, we find that wherever mountain ranges extend there the Kurds claim their home, and little by little, overawing the inhabitants of the contiguous plains, are making themselves the strongest element in the population.

To many, if not to most, even of those best acquainted with the Turkish and Persian empires, this may seem a very large section for Kurdistan. If, however, we take the term as denoting that region where the Kurds are at present the ruling class, not merely by force and influence, but by actual proportion of population, it is by no means too large. There are, of course, districts where Armenians, Nestorians, and Syrians form a large element, but there are none except the Armenian plain of Harpoot, the Nestorian country of Tiyari, Tekhoma, and Bass, and the Syrian province of Midyat where they are in a clear majority. Everywhere else they are outnumbered by the Kurds, and it might easily be claimed that these boundaries are too narrow rather than too broad. The western line running south from Sivas might be contested, for there are many Kurdish settlements along the ranges of the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus. So to the north. Along the Russian border, and even as far as Eriwan, Kurds, in no small numbers, are to be found mingling with Georgians and Lazes, and gaining stronger and stronger footholds constantly.

The Dersim region, west of Erzroom, nearly the whole of the Turco-Persian frontier from Kars to Shiraz, and large sections on either side are *entirely* Kurdish.

The question immediately and naturally comes, What has become of Armenia and the Armenians?

The answer is found in the constant succession of war, famine, pestilence, and oppression. The Armenians have left their own country for other parts of Turkey and Russia. A colony of over twelve thousand were taken by the Persian Shah, Abbass, from the single plain of Alashgerd, and transported to found the city of Julfa, near Ispahan. They already outnumber the Georgians in their own province of the Caucasus, and furnish the mercantile life for the greater part of western Asia Minor. In Armenia proper, except that portion under Russian rule around Eriwan and Etchmiadzine, there are comparatively few remaining, the plain of Harpoot being the only district where they can claim any majority. The Kurds have come in to take their places, and, except historically, Armenia has been displaced by Kurdistan.

## NATURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.

It is mountainous. The Kurds do not take kindly to plain life, and they have chosen for their home a region surpassed in interest by few sections of the world's surface. The highlands of Armenia, where the Euphrates and the Tigris have their source, furnish the starting-point for two great mountain ranges,—the Taurus, running westward through northern Syria and southern Asia Minor; and the Zagros, with its various sections extending southward until they lose themselves in the plains of southeastern Persia. In general the region has been not inaptly described as “a congregation of rugged ravines covered with jungle, but interspersed with fertile plains.” In much of it, however, the “jungle” is entirely wanting. The Dersim region is rugged and bare, with high passes, rocky defiles, and little vegetation except the stunted scrub-oak. So, too, about Lake Van the country is high and forbidding, its lofty ranges culminating in Siphan Dagh, a volcanic peak rising some twelve thousand feet. There are, however, beautiful valleys, and in spring, when a rich growth of wild flowers carpets the very rocks, the scenery is of the loveliest. Southward it becomes more grand, and, except in the lack of glaciers, is not inferior to any part of Switzerland. Here, on the Persian border, are the lofty summits of Jelu, crowned with snow for nearly the whole year, the rocky passes of Bass and Tiyari, with miniature pastures and sparkling cascades. Farther west the Tigris, flowing sluggishly through the plain of Diarbekir, gathers its strength for the conflict with Bohtan and Jebel Tour, which seem to vie with each other in their efforts to close its passage with mighty cliffs, but when conquered open up vistas of greensward and luxuriant foliage, as if they would enchant where they could not compel. I shall never forget one evening when, drifting down the Tigris from Diarbekir to Mosul, after a day of turmoil, tossed up and down and to and fro in the whirlpools and eddies of the angry river with the heavy clouds hanging black over us and the lowering crags frowning down upon us, just at sunset the skies cleared, and our raft swung around to its moorings in a sheltered nook where there was enough brush for a camp-fire and a level space to rest upon the grass. Glad to be upon the solid ground, we sauntered along up the bank till we reached a bend in the river. On the right and left the cliffs loomed up, in prison silence save for the muttered roar of the waters against their sides. Before us lay a mountain valley, with patches of green and wooded

slopes extending far away to the base of a lofty peak, from whose snowy top flashed back to us the last rays of the setting sun. Then as the twilight deepened the moon rose, flashing its silver light upon every leaf and twig, and cresting the foam of the rapids. Throwing ourselves upon the grass, we enjoyed the scene, and our thoughts went back to the Ten Thousand wearily toiling up this same pass, probably by the very foot-path that we could just see winding along the opposite bank; and as we looked at our Kurdish boatmen below, it required no great effort to imagine them the lineal descendants of those Carduchi who, clinging to the rocks like mountain goats, rolled great stones down upon the ranks of the unfortunate Greeks. So, again, following the course of the Zab from its source among the mountain peaks of Hakkiari down the valley of Amadiyeh, fertile enough for the Garden of Eden, one comes to the gorges and ladder of the Rowandiz, a tributary taking its name from the city perched upon its cliffs. Entering from the west through a gateway of arching trees, we came to a gorge which called to mind the stories of the famous cañons of the West. We could see our path zigzagging along the face of the rock, up, up, up, for a height of fifteen hundred to two thousand feet; and when we arrived at the summit we could scarcely realize whence we had come. Farther south are the Goodroon Mountains, not unlike the French Jura; then the mountains become hills around Suleimanieh and Sihna, until the gardens of Shiraz mark the limit of the mountaineer's home. From Kars to Dizful it is grand. The Taurus offers less fine scenery than the Zagros, but it is by no means tame.

The products of the northern part are very meagre, little else than an inferior quality of wheat or millet being raised. The soil, except in the more inaccessible portions of Hakkiari and the Der-sim country, is fertile, but the Kurds prefer grazing to agriculture, and raise only what grain will grow with the least possible labor. Wherever there are Armenians, Nestorians, or Syrians, the gardens of Van, the vineyards of Midyat, and the fields of Amadiyeh and Oroomiah show what may be produced. Farther south the Kurds themselves labor more, and wheat, barley, cotton, rice, and tobacco are raised in large quantities.

The Taurus and northern Zagros were probably covered with forest in the time of Xenophon, but centuries of misuse have left them bare, and many places which once must have been fertile are now utterly barren. The southern Zagros is, however, much more wooded, and there is a large export of timber, cut princi-

pally from the *tchinar* or plane-tree. Poplars grow to a great size, one seen by Mr. Rich measuring sixteen feet girth. This region also furnishes great quantities of the walnut knots used for furniture trimmings. The fruits are chiefly grapes and melons in many varieties and of fine quality. Among the more inaccessible places the pie-plant, or rhubarb, is much cultivated, and is esteemed quite a delicacy. The most unique product is doubtless the manna, which is found abundantly along the western slopes of the Zagros. It is gathered most freely from rocks and stones and from the leaves of the scrub-oak after cool nights in June, when the deposit is so large at times that the Kurds say that it rains manna. The mineral resources are as yet almost unknown. There is a large and valuable vein of copper between Harpoot and Diarbekir, near the sources of the Tigris, which is the only one worked, or about which there is any information.

#### THE KURDS.

In giving any account of the Kurds themselves, one fact must always be recognized: We are speaking of a race which is a collection of tribes rather than a homogeneous people. In general the race characteristics are sufficiently well marked, so that there is no hesitancy in asserting a race unity; yet there are cases where the lines are by no means easily drawn. Thus the great tribe of the Lurs, occupying Luristan in Persia, south of Kirmanshah and east of Bagdad, is claimed by the Kurds themselves, while the Persians as stoutly deny the claim. So, again, there is little doubt that the Moslems in eastern Turkey are almost universally Kurds, though many of those in Erzroom, Diarbekir, and even as far west as Sivas, claim to be Ottoman Turks. It is even a question whether many of the Armenians and most of the mountain Nestorians are not, in race, Kurds. It is as yet impossible to decide all these questions, and it will be sufficiently accurate for the present purpose if we adopt the claim of the Kurds themselves; that is, the entire Moslem population of the country whose boundaries have been given above.

In general we find these all with certain distinctive characteristics, and a clearer idea will be gained if we classify them according to race, religion, government, and mode of life. These mingle somewhat, so that the lines of separation are more or less vague; but in the main the distinctions are pretty clear.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for this classification and most of the facts connected with it chiefly to three sources:—

1. *Race.* The Kurdish authorities divide the Kurdish race into four great sections, marked by differing ethnological and linguistic characteristics : The Kermanj, Goran, Lur, and, according to Keffee Effendi, Wend ; or, according to the "Shreef Na'ameh," Guelhore. The *Kermanj* are the most prominent, and occupy the major part of what we have spoken of as Kurdistan, in the ordinary acceptance of the term ; that is, the region from Ararat to Keruk, including both the Turkish and Persian sections. The *Goran* are scarcely less numerous, though not as powerful as the Kermanj, and are found chiefly in Persia, between Sihna and Ispahan. A number of tribes near Suleimanieh, the Dersim Kurds west of Erzroom, as well as scattered tribes throughout Turkey, are *Goran*.

Of the *Lur* I can learn very little except that they occupy Luristan. Of the *Wend*, too, little is known except that their headquarters are in Afghanistan, and that they furnish the wildest and fiercest of the tribes that roam through Southern Kurdistan, extending their raids occasionally as far north and west as Oorfa.

The ethnological and linguistic characteristics of these divisions it is by no means easy to determine without more extensive and accurate information than is at present accessible. They are unquestionably of Indo-European origin. One traveler speaks of the "roundness of their features, much more approaching European than Asiatic physiognomy, particularly when contrasted with

First : The exceedingly able and valuable report to the British government by Major Henry Trotter, R. E. C. B., British consul for Kurdistan, and published in the Parliamentary Blue Book about 1880. Second : Information from Keffee Effendi, a Kurd of the Jaff tribe near Suleimanieh. He was one of the most remarkable men it was ever my privilege to meet. A thorough scholar in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, as well as his own Kurdish, he had also a very wide knowledge — though he knew no European language — of other countries, their history, geography, and general characteristics. With a capacity for patient research he combined a quick perception, evenly balanced judgment, and conscientious faithfulness, very unusual in an Oriental. As a young man he was employed by the famous Sheikh Obeidullah to travel through Central Kurdistan and gather facts about the different tribes. Subsequently, in Mosul, he became interested in Christianity, and came on to Constantinople, where he was employed as a scribe on the Committee for the Revision of the Turkish Scriptures. He became, as we believe, a true Christian, and was eagerly planning for the translation of the Bible into his own language when he was struck down by typhoid fever, in the spring of 1883, a great loss to his associates and especially to his people. Third : The *Shreef Na'ameh*, or Kurdish history, by the Prince of Bitlis, published in St. Petersburg in French. This I have not had the time or opportunity to consult as much as I could wish.

the long and prominent features of the Arabs. The complexion, too, is as fair as that of Englishmen, though in all the eyes and hair are dark." Too little, however, is known to warrant any assertion in general, still less as to the particular traits of these subdivisions. The language is better known, though as yet very imperfectly. It is especially akin to the old Persian and to the Armenian. It is said that there is scarcely a word marked in Oriental dictionaries as old Persian that is not in actual use among the Kurds to-day; and where Kurds and Armenians come in close contact, as in the Dersim country and in the region of Sest, east of Diarbekir, the similarity is very noticeable. It is claimed by many that for writing Kurdish the Armenian alphabet is much better adapted than the Arabic or Persian, which are commonly used. The number of dialects is almost equal to the number of tribes, yet there are general characteristics which belong distinctively to these four great sections, though it is difficult to define them exactly. The Kermanj is rough, with a considerable admixture of Turkish and Arabic. It has harsh gutterals and uncouth, minute syllabification, making its pronunciation very difficult. The Goran, or Zaza, as it is sometimes called, is purer and smoother, with a more flowing pronunciation, somewhat like the Persian. The Jaff tribe, Kermanj by origin, but spreading over a considerable country occupied chiefly by the Goran race, furnishes a sort of connecting link between these two sections; and the Lur in a similar manner connects the Goran and the Wend. In addition to these marked races there are the *Yezidees*, claimed by the Kurdish authorities as Kurds, yet not classed by them under any one of these heads. Their origin is very doubtful, and they do not form a community large enough, numerically, to exert very much influence. They are found chiefly in the Sinjar district, west of Mosul, and in the Baasheika district, east of Mosul. There are also scattered communities all through eastern Turkey. The Kurds also claim the Gypsies as a kindred race, and they are found in some numbers, principally in the southern sections of Kurdistan.

2. *Religion.* The Kurds are, as a race, Mohammedans, and are divided about equally between Sunnis, or orthodox Moslems, and Shiah, or followers of Ali. The Sunni Kurds, comprising the Kermanj and a large part of the Goran, and occupying the greater part of eastern Turkey and western Persia as far south as Kerkuk, are by far the best known and the most powerful. They belong to the Shaafi sect, and are very largely under the

influence of the Nakhshibendi dervishes, some of whom are chiefs of very powerful tribes. The most noted of these in recent years has been Sheikh Obeidullah, who has incited all the general disturbances in the mountains for some years past, and in 1880 led the great rebellion against Persia. The Shiah Kurds comprise the remainder of the Goran, the Lur, and the Wend, and are found mostly in Persia. They are scattered in comparatively small numbers throughout Asia Minor, especially in the Dersim country. In Turkey they are called Kuzzlebash, or red-heads, a term given in derision, and offensive to them, yet now so generally adopted as to have lost much of its original force. Its origin is obscure, but it is thought to have come from associating them with the Persian Shiabs, who use red dyes very freely for the hair and beard. West of Diarbekir there are Kuzzlebash Turks. As has already been said, they are in all probability Kurds rather than Turks.

As may be inferred from the great influence of the dervishes among them, the Kurds are intense in their religious, or, rather, in most cases, their superstitious, beliefs. Among no class of Moslems is the faith of Islam held more tenaciously, and nowhere have I seen such scrupulous observance of religious rites. In the city of Rowandiz, where I was for a Sabbath the guest of the most influential Kurd of the region, I saw the whole female population of the city assemble on the bank of the river, towards sundown, for their devotions. Rarely singly, generally in groups of three or six, they went through with the form of prayer as punctiliously as any priests. Noticing that I was interested in the sight, my host took occasion to speak in praise of the religious character of the Kurds in general, and of the women in particular. Of the religion of the Yezidees comparatively little is really known. It seems to contain elements of Christianity and Mohammedanism, with a large proportion of paganism. Their rites are observed in secrecy, and have, therefore, given occasion for the most outrageous charges, which, however, are absolutely rejected by Sir Henry Layard and others who have taken pains to learn as much as possible of this singular people.

3. *Government.* The form of government of the Kurds is essentially the same as that of almost all mountain peoples,—the patriarchal, tribal system. From a variety of circumstances, geographical, political, etc., it has come about that a somewhat marked line can be drawn between those who have preserved the tribal organization and those who have lost it.

The tribal Kurds resemble much the Highland clans of Scotland. As a rule the chieftainship is hereditary, and there are some families in which it has remained for a long time. Occasionally we find some one tribe, by its greater power, gathering under its protection a large number of smaller tribes, which become absorbed in it, not infrequently losing their own distinct tribal organization. Then if the ruling house, as has been often the case, becomes demoralized by contact with the Persian or Turkish governments or by internal feuds and jealousies, some hitherto unimportant family will come suddenly into power and seize the general authority, and in the universal break-up whole tribes seem to drop out, while new ones come into existence. Of this sort is the history of the family of Beni Ardilan, who once ruled the great province of Ardilan, in Persia, with Sihna for the capital. In some of the tribes there seems to be a strong democratic element. Mr. Rich speaks of one of the Khoshnav, north of Suleimanieh, where the opposition of a single member, even one of the poorest, was sufficient as a veto power. As a rule the chief is autocratic, but is practically held in check by the heads of the principal families. In one of the nomad Wend tribes of the south, the chieftainship is held by any one whose prowess enables him to seize and hold it.

The Kermanj and Wend are almost entirely tribal. The Goran and Lur are partly tribal and partly non-tribal, in what proportion it is very difficult to state.

The non-tribal Kurds are those that have no tribal organization, or, indeed, any organization at all. They are practically peasants, under the rule, or, rather, despotism, of the Turkish and Persian governors or, in some cases, of the more powerful tribal chiefs. Whether they were originally all tribal or not, it is impossible to say; but it seems certain that their numbers have been largely increased by the disintegrating forces spoken of above. They are found principally in Persia, though somewhat in the province of Suleimanieh, and scattered about Asia Minor. The Kurds of Rowandiz, Bitlis, Van, Suleimanieh, Sihna and other cities still have a tribal organization.

4. *Mode of life.* The Kurds are in general either nomad or sedentary; in particular, either pastoral or agricultural. The nomad Kurds are purely pastoral; the sedentary are pastoral and agricultural. There are a few tribes, chiefly Wend, who can hardly be said to belong to either of these classes. They subsist by plunder, have no flocks or herds, and live on horseback.

There are, however, very few such, and it is doubtful whether that is their permanent mode of life. In general all the Kurds keep their flocks and herds or till the ground.

The nomads are again divisible into two classes: the purely nomad, who have no fixed dwelling-place, and live in tents the year round, and the partially nomad, who live in villages during the winter, and go to distant pasturages for the summer. So, also, the sedentary Kurds may be divided into those who leave their villages for pasturages,—which, however, are not so remote that they lose oversight of their houses and fields,—and the permanent village and city Kurds, who do not change their residence the year round.

The first class, purely nomad, are chiefly Wend, and are found in the southern sections. The principal tribe is the Bakhtiari, a name which has become synonymous with robbery, and which rivals the fame of some of the Bedouin tribes of the desert. As to the Wend tribes in Afghanistan no information is accessible.

The second class, partially nomad, is more numerous, and comprises many of the tribes that winter on the north Mesopotamia plain or in the district of Kerkuk, and summer in Hakkiani or northeast of Van, in and near Kotur, Salmas, and Oroomiah. These are principally Kermanj, and are the tribes most noted for their outrages upon Armenian, Nestorian, and even Moslem villages. They furnished the greater part of Sheikh Obeidullah's army; and one of the most prominent, the Belbas tribe, from the plain of Lahijan, furnished in one of its chiefs his famous lieutenant, Hamza Agha, who was principally responsible for the fearful massacres of Miandab.

The third class, composed of those changing pasture in summer, but not migrating to distant places, is on the whole the most influential, and includes the great majority of the tribal Kurds and many of the non-tribal, in every section of the country, both in Turkey and Persia. They comprise the majority of the Kermanj and nearly the whole of the Goran and the Lur, so far as can be judged. Among them are the Haideranli and Shekoik, near Salmas, the Shirmoo, Mamash, and Bana, of Lahijan, the Jaff, of Suleimanieh, and the Dersim Kurds.

The fourth class, as we may call the stationary Kurds, comprises few of the tribes, but the great majority of the non-tribal or peasant Kurds. Among them, however, are those of Bitlis, Rowandiz, Suleimanieh, and Kerkuk, many of whom are of high character and great influence, which is growing rather than decreasing.

The lines of separation between these different classes are by no means sharply drawn, and it is often impossible to distinguish them at all. The same tribes belong to one class at one time, and to another as circumstances change. In general the drift is from the first to the second, then to the third, and then to the fourth. The immense majority are still pastoral, but tillage of the soil is increasing, and giving permanency to those who would otherwise be wanderers.

As to the total number of the Kurds, it is difficult to form anything like a correct estimate. Major Millingen (an Englishman in the Turkish service) gives the only total that I have seen, namely, five millions. This seems very high. Keffee Effendi (referred to above) gives an enumeration of the Sunni, Kermanj, Goran, and Wend, who live south of Hakkiani, and makes the total 112,000 houses; about 560,000 persons. He, however, makes no mention of the Kermanj of Van, Bitlis, and north of Hakkiani, nor of the Shiah Kurds in any section. Taking that as a basis, it would seem that three millions, or perhaps three and a half millions, would cover the whole. Even this, however, partakes too much of the nature of a guess to be put forth very positively.

5. *General Characteristics.* Physically the Kurds are a fine race. Tall, powerful, athletic, they are capable of great endurance. Their features, however, are heavy and dull, except as the passions are aroused, when there is a gleam of ferocity such that no one who has seen it wonders at the terror they inspire among the more peaceful villagers of the plains. Among the chiefs, however, and quite commonly among some of the tribes, this general expression is conquered by intelligence, and then, seen at its best, the race partakes of no small degree of nobility. My host and his son, at Rowandiz, were of this class, and when, at their evening reception, the large room was filled with Kurds of every position in the country around, there were not a few of commanding appearance. Quite a different company was that gathered about the sheikh of Peshwa, in Persia, to whom I applied for a guard through his territory. Although they were sufficiently courteous to me, there was a low brutality in their heavy, glowering features that boded no good to the villagers who had recently refused to pay their tribute, and against whom the sheikh was just preparing to march. Their dress is bulky and clumsy, with unwieldy turban and long, tangling sleeves and fringes. It is, however, picturesque, and when richly ornamented is not unworthy of the description of an English traveler of fifty years ago: "On the head is a large shawl of

striped silk, red, white, and blue, with fringed ends, wound in most graceful manner around the red skull-cap. Its ample folds are confined with some embroidered band, and the long fringes hang down with rich, fantastic wildness. Their true Saracenic (?) features and bright black eyes gleam with peculiar lustre from under this head-tire. The body garments consist of an ample vest and gown, with wide sleeves, and over-jacket, often richly embroidered. Below are the 'shalwas' — Mameluke trousers. Around the waist, a girdle with monstrous silver clasps, and jeweled according to rank and taste. From this hang the powder horn and swords, and in it are stuck pistols and daggers. Over all is thrown a cloak, or abba, of camel's hair, — white, black, or brown, or striped, — clasped at the breast, and floating picturesquely behind. A small shield hangs from the left shoulder, and the hand carries a long, slender spear. This always; in war, a gun and case of javelins are added, which they use with great precision. They also wear armor; shirts of linked mail, or plate armor, consisting of four plates of inlaid and damasked steel, made to fit the back, breast, and sides."

In character there seems to be a marked difference between the northern and southern Kurds. The former do not vary much from those that Xenophon described. Brutal, ferocious, savage, to the last degree, it seems as if there were no crime too great for them to commit. Their hospitality is stained with treachery; their bravery is little more than brazen-faced cowardice. The murder of the German traveler, Schultze, who was decoyed from the road under pretext of showing him an ancient monument, and killed where there was no hope of rescue and little chance of revenge, is a fair sample of what they would do far oftener had they the opportunity. On a larger scale are the massacres of Beder Khan Beg, carried out under the advice of Sheikh Tahir, father of Sheikh Obeidullah, and repeated by the son at Bayazid and Miandab. The story is told of the sheikh of a castle near Rowandiz that, awakened at night by the crying of his child, he got up in a paroxysm of fury, snatched the little one from its bed, and flung it from the battlements clear across the ravine upon the rocks. When he came to himself remorse sought some vengeance, and for weeks he held a reign of terror, his most trusted retainers not daring to come near him. But instances need not be multiplied, for every book of travels in the East has them in abundance. It seems as if it would be a mercy to humanity to wipe them out from the face of the earth. There is, however, another

class. The Kurds of Rowandiz and Suleimanieh, the Jaff and Zend tribes, manifest some very different characteristics. They are intelligent, keeping informed on matters of general interest as well as on those that affect their own tribes. They are anxious for education, and are making considerable effort to obtain it. They are energetic, taking advantage of every means to increase their influence or better their condition. Thus they not infrequently attain high position. Said Pasha, former Ottoman ambassador to Berlin, and Bahri Pasha, governor of Pera, the European quarter of Constantinople, are Jaff Kurds. Emin Effendi, one of the most influential members of the Council of State, is chief of the Zend tribe that placed Kerim Khan on the throne of Persia. Keffee Effendi — already referred to — was a Jaff Kurd, and not a few of the prominent writers for the Turkish press at the present time are of the same race. Nor are these isolated cases merely, such as will occur among any people. From the observations of Mr. Rich in and near Suleimanieh, my own inquiries at Rowandiz, and the testimony of not a few well qualified to know, there seem to exist among these people some who are capable of great improvement and desirous to secure it. How large the number may be it would be difficult to say, but it is large enough to be able to take a very important part in the future of the country.

The military prowess of the Kurds is by no means of a high order. They have a great deal of dash, but very little endurance; plenty of bravado, but very little pluck. They have no organization, but rely chiefly upon the effect of a sudden appearance and rush to give them the victory. This was seen in Sheikh Obeidullah's rebellion. Wherever they could overwhelm by sheer force of numbers and momentum, they conquered; but when they came against the miserable fortifications of Oroomiah, manned by some weak-kneed Persian regulars, their advance was checked; and with the check came disintegration and defeat. There have been very few examples of military achievements of any note by Kurds. The Saladin of the Crusades was a Kurd, — not a Bedouin, as he is popularly supposed to have been, — and his conquests showed no slight military ability. Early in the present century Mehemet Beg, of Rowandiz, made himself master of the whole region around, and held a sway that has made his name famous. So among the Lurs there have been chiefs whose fame has survived them; but in general these have all been little more than brigand chieftains, leading a guerrilla warfare against their neighbors.

The Kurds are an active race, fond of horseback exercise and games. The opening and subsequent scenes of Scott's "Talisman" are Kurdish, and not unlike what may be witnessed to-day. As a rule they are bold and reckless rather than skillful riders, and their games are of the rudest. They are social in their nature and habits far more than either Turks or Persians, and their women seem to be on a much higher plane, and to receive more respect. They are not closely veiled, have more freedom, and exert more influence than those in the countries around them. It was pleasant to hear, in Rowandiz, the tribute that my host paid to their intelligence, virtue, and general high character. This, of course, is by no means universal; and, indeed, it is impossible to make any favorable statement in regard to the Kurds without making at the same time some qualifications.

Their customs are, in general, those of the Levant, modified by their manner of life and their country. They keep up the system of blood-feuds, and this alone is occasion for ceaseless conflict between tribes and families. It was one of these blood-feuds that was the immediate cause of the betrayal of Sheikh Obeidullah and his delivery to the Turkish authorities and consequent exile and death. The guide given me by the Sheikh of Peshwa tried very hard to secure his present before reaching the end of the journey. This was persistently refused him until we should arrive at the village to which we were going. At last, when we were within a half hour's ride of the place, he left, although he thus failed of his present. In all probability his tribe or family had a blood-feud with some Kurds beyond, and he did not dare to go alone. There is little to distinguish a Kurdish village from any other. Their winter huts are low mud hovels, their black tents ("the tents of Kedar"?) very like those of the Arab tribes. They frequently have, however, a considerable quantity of fine carpets, rugs, curtains, and general house or tent furniture. The removal of an encampment is an interesting sight,—the men upon their horses or mares, the women upon the donkeys or mules, while the children appear here and there, mixed up with the bedding and general tent furniture. There are the foals scampering about, while the inseparable dog keeps up a sharp, quick bark at everything in general, and any strangers in particular. Then come the flocks, with the shepherds leading, and the silent, but far more dangerous, shepherd dogs keeping a good watch that no lamb or kid strays and is lost. In the cities they adopt city life, and many of the distinctive Kurdish customs are lost.

The history of the Kurds is meagre, at least any history that is at all authentic. They first appear in Xenophon's "Anabasis" as the Carduchi, occupying the same country as at present, only somewhat more circumscribed, and are in general the same people. Then they drop out of sight, and with the exception of an occasional reference to their country we hear nothing more of them as Kurds until Saladin, a chief of the Kermanj tribe of Rouzbanhan, from Tekrit, on the Tigris, appears as sultan of Egypt and Syria and the contestant with the Crusaders for the possession of Palestine. Again they disappear from notice until early in the present century, when Mehemet Beg created a quasi kingdom at Rowandiz, and both sultan and shah began to find them a somewhat uncertain and dangerous element on their borders. The impression left upon the Ten Thousand was that of a savage tribe of mountaineers, fiercely opposed to every encroachment on their domains, but neither numerous nor strong enough to be dignified by the name of nation. Saladin and his family seem to have been little but adventurers, who, by force of personal character and the devotion of a band of retainers, succeeded in overturning effete kingdoms in countries which had been so often conquered as to have almost acquired the habit of yielding to any one who, with any show of reason or of force, could make a claim to their allegiance. We find now a people, numbering not less than three millions, spread over a wide extent of territory, without the internal coherence of a nation indeed, but still with certain characteristics of language, features, and customs which mark them as one race. They have no history proper, for the "Shereef Na'ameh," referred to above, is little more than a collection of traditions, which yet have to be scrutinized and sifted with greatest care. It is, perhaps, more than a fictitious claim that makes the Medes and Parthians branches of this same race, yet that claim has still to be verified. The character of their language, the presence of a large Kurdish element in Afghanistan, traces of Kurdish tribes in Ghilan, south of the Caspian, all tend to show, in general, their origin and the course which they have taken. But these do not explain their present distribution and diversities. It is possible that in their own tradition, given above, we may find a clew to their origin, and in the history of certain tribes an explanation of their growth.

Mr. Rich, during his visit to Suleimanieh, in 1820, became much interested in the Jaff tribe, themselves not numbering more than six hundred houses, but by reason of their sturdiness and

bravery gathering under their banners portions of every tribe around, especially those that needed protection against Persian or Turkish despotism. Among those thus connected he enumerates several Wend tribal families and a portion of the famous Zend tribe driven from Persia at the time of the overthrow of Shah Kerim Khan. About 1870 Keffee Effendi, making an enumeration of this same tribe, his own, found them to number forty thousand houses. There is every reason to accept the accuracy of both these estimates. Yet the growth from six hundred houses to forty thousand in fifty years would be impossible except as some process of absorption has gone on akin to that which had begun in 1820.

So the first occupancy of the mountains of Kurdistan may have been by a tribe or tribes, from the north of India, perhaps driven from pleasanter settlements by the cruelty and oppression of certain rulers. Making of the inaccessible gorges and valleys of Bohtan and Hakkiali a general Cave of Adullam, they gathered to their numbers the turbulent and disaffected from every side. As they grew stronger, and the fertile plains of Persia and Mesopotamia enticed them from their mountain fastnesses, they spread forth only to carry back with them those who had joined their banners on the plains, whether voluntarily or under force. And gradually differences became blended or crystallized as the circumstances changed, and the Kurdish people, in its four great divisions and innumerable tribes and dialects, came into being, built upon the ruins of many kingdoms and even empires.

As yet, however, there is little but conjecture; positive assertion remains for future and more thorough investigation.

*Edwin M. Bliss.*

BIBLE HOUSE, CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY.

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#### SIDE LIGHTS FROM MORMONISM.

PROBABLY the most remarkable, though certainly not the greatest, religious movement of the century is the birth and growth of Mormonism. It is sufficiently remarkable that a man of little education and no military prestige should convince great numbers of Anglo-Saxons that he was a prophet, and that a book of unusual dullness which he introduced was a revelation from God; but the case becomes truly astonishing when we learn the whole story. For

this would-be prophet arose in the nineteenth century and in the midst of the intelligent and throbbing life of the United States. He incorporated into his system polygamy and other barbarous principles and practices ; and though repeatedly defeated and pushed to ridiculous expedients by mob violence, he was yet able to bind the bulk of his followers to him by a tie almost indissoluble. Those followers numbered thousands and even hundreds of thousands ; and, rather than surrender their creed, they faced vast areas of wilderness and desert, and like Abraham went out not knowing whither they went. Add to this that they penetrated the unbroken solitudes of this Great Basin, and where formerly there had been only the sage and the thin, dry grass of the desert they made cultivated fields and growing towns to appear, and that for twenty summers the white-topped wagons of the slow ox-teams did not fail to be seen in long procession creeping across the plains and through the mountains, while for the last fifteen years the railroad has brought regularly, year after year, new colonies of humble adherents,—adherents who have crossed seas and plains and mountains, often leaving the land of their birth six thousand miles behind them, and who through every difficulty and at every sacrifice have pressed on to this Latter Day Zion,—and before the narrative is nearly finished the reader will probably consider it no exaggeration to call the phenomena of Mormonism astonishing.

It would be singular, indeed, if there were not many parts of so strange and yet so strong a system not only of interest, but full of instruction, likewise, to the thoughtful observer. Four points will probably impress themselves upon one coming into close contact with Mormonism and Mormon life ; points which have no little bearing on questions now before the religious world.

1. In the first place there is an open Bible in Utah. In many minds this statement will doubtless excite surprise, perhaps incredulity. There is a widespread impression in religious circles that the Mormons are afraid of the Bible ; that a very important feature of Christian activity here is the circulation of the Scriptures. There could hardly be a greater mistake. Little as we may enjoy the fact, it is a fact that Mormonism stands with an open Bible in its hand, and challenges refutation from the pages of inspiration. I have yet to see the first indication that the Latter Day Saints fear the circulation and reading of the Word of God. It is to be found, very generally, in the houses of the older and well-to-do Mormons, as also in the pulpits of the meeting-houses.

The "Saints" have been even known to coöperate with Christians in circulating the Scriptures. It is, indeed, true that the Latter Day Church does not use the Bible much, that its adherents allow the dust to gather on its covers; but it is also true that the same treatment is accorded, in even greater degree, to their other sacred books. The average "Saint" is more concerned with the utterances of the "living oracles," — that is, the "priesthood of Zion," — than with the *dicta* of any written word. Yet he is at the same time perfectly convinced that the Bible supports the Latter Day faith in every respect, and that it is only the blindness of sectarianism which prevents others from seeing the fact as plainly as he does. One good "sister" told the writer that for two years after she joined the Church her husband devoted himself to reading the Bible and Pilgrim's Progress, seeking for something against Mormonism with which to confront her, and that finding nothing he at length was himself baptized into the church. To-day he is among the most faithful of "the brethren." So strong, indeed, is this conviction that many men who have lost all faith in Mormonism, who hate it with all the virulence of those who realize that they have been grossly deluded, yet feel to-day, as they did formerly, that Mormonism is founded upon and supported by the Scriptures. They have been known to advise our missionaries to "keep clear of the Bible" if they wished to fight Mormonism, adding that "the Mormons have it all their own way in that book."

Does the reader wonder how support for such a colossal delusion can possibly be found in the King James Bible? A Latter Day Saint would probably state his case somewhat as follows:— "The words of Jesus are, 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' To be born of water, as you Christians admit, is equivalent to baptism. So it is clear, upon no less authority than that of Jesus himself, that a man *must* be baptized in order to be saved. But who is to baptize men into the kingdom of God? Any one? Men without authority from the Lord? By no means. Only those to whom the command to baptize is given in Matt. xxviii. 19, and, inferentially, in Mark xvi. 15, 16. How are we to know that certain men have authority to baptize? By their own assertion? Not at all; but by the credentials which Jesus predicts they will present when, in the 17th and 18th verses of that sixteenth chapter of Mark, he says, 'And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they

drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them ; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.' We do not need to prove that you Christians have no authority to baptize, and so can lead no one into the kingdom of God ; we are not obliged to show that the believers in your system do not cast out devils, nor speak with tongues, nor heal the sick miraculously, for you lay claim to no such powers. Hence your system is self-convicted of being from men and not from God. But as to the believers of the Latter Day Church, they can instance hundreds of cases in which just such signs as the Lord predicted have followed the preaching of the true gospel, and just such powers as He foretold have been exercised by those believing in that gospel. It is, therefore, the Latter Day Saints, and they alone, who have authority to baptize and power to usher men into the kingdom of God.

" You say it is absurd for us to believe in a new revelation from God in these latter days. The charge only shows your ignorance of the Bible. If you had but looked at Rev. xiv. 6, 7, you would have seen that it was prophesied that the true gospel should be sent to this earth again. It is not absurd for us to believe that an angel appeared to Joseph Smith, for the coming of that angel was foretold by the Apostle John nearly 1800 years before. As to our gathering in Zion, in these Rocky Mountains, it is simply in obedience to the command of God recorded in Rev. xviii. 4 and reiterated in these latter days, ' Come out of her [Babylon] my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins.' But polygamy, do you say, we Saints believe in polygamy ! Yes, we do. You Christians are too 'civilized' for that, are you ? What would you do with the patriarch Jacob in your modern civilization ? It's very plain that the old man whom the Almighty called ' a Prince of God,' and who was the father of the chosen people, would have but a cold welcome with his four wives among you super-righteous religionists ! We believe in polygamy because it is honored throughout the Old Testament, and not a word said against it in the New ; because heaven is spoken of as ' Abraham's bosom,' and Abraham was a polygamist ; because David is called ' a man after God's own heart,' and he too was a polygamist."

I have endeavored in the foregoing paragraphs to present Mormon apologetics, both in matter and in spirit, as the reader may find them for himself in almost any issue of the "Deseret News," the foremost organ of the Mormon Church. It will be seen that while all the above positions may be assailed successfully, and generally from the pages of Scripture, yet there is not one of them

which has not a certain speciousness, on the surface of the Scripture text; not one of them which is beyond the field of fair discussion; while two or three of them have been held by able thinkers in Orthodox churches. Thus Mormonism confronts us, standing with an open Bible in its hand, and with a *prima facie* case, in the minds of many half-educated men. Has this phenomenon a bearing on any question at issue among Christians to-day? It is believed that it has such a bearing.

A question of growing importance now before the religious world is that of the inerrancy of the Scriptures. Among the many satisfactory and exhaustive treatises on the inspiration of the Bible, there has been no adequate, general discussion of this minor question of inerrancy. Is Scripture without error, even in purely secular matters, such as points of profane history and science? Yes, certainly, reply the great majority of Christians. The Bible is true in every respect. No, say a small minority; the Bible is inerrant only in matters pertaining to salvation. In other directions Scripture is reliable, but not infallible. Probably few believers hear this latter statement for the first time without something of a shock. But on the other hand the school of thinkers who make it seems to be growing in numbers and influence, and, it must be confessed, counts among its members not a few names both great and dear in Christian annals.

The great consideration urged by what may be called the conservative party in sustaining the doctrine of inerrancy is that when the first breach in the absolute infallibility of sacred Scripture is made the authority of the whole is lost. Then, it is argued, it is left to every man to determine for himself which is the inspired and therefore authoritative portion of the Bible, and which part is of men. In that case, erring man has but to persuade himself, as he is only too ready to do, that some objectionable doctrine or precept is on the human and not the divine side of the Scriptures to release his conscience from the yoke of its authority. This, it is said, amounts to every man's making a Bible for himself. It is idle to deny the force of this argument. The human heart is desperately prone to error, is wonderfully eager to escape from the uncomfortable restraints of a law which it does not love and of doctrines which do not suit its fancy. It would be no exaggeration, probably, to affirm that with nine tenths of thoughtful believers this consideration is the determining one in making them strenuous for Biblical inerrancy. And it is on this argument that the Mormon phenomenon bears with especial, almost decisive, force.

It would seem to make evident that real as is the danger of fallen man's perverting the Bible to suit his own passions and fancies the doctrine of Scriptural inerrancy is no safeguard against it; that men may believe in the verbal infallibility of the Bible to the fullest extent, and yet persuade themselves and their fellows that it sanctions doctrines and practices which the best thought and piety of Christendom abhor. It would seem to tell us that the assumption involved in the doctrine of inerrancy—the assumption that God meant to keep men from all error in the matters treated of, and so far as they are treated of in the Scriptures—is incompatible with the Protestant position of an open Bible and private interpretation. For to shut out error in religious matters—error often of the grossest and most widespread character—it is not enough, so long as the human mind and heart remain as they are, to provide an infallible revelation; there must also be an infallible interpreter of that revelation,—and that is the Roman and not the Protestant position. Apparently, then, we are left to determine the question of Scriptural inerrancy according to the evidence of the Book itself, and free from anxiety as to possible dangers in diverging from the present conservative position.

2. A second noteworthy feature of Mormonism is the very general indorsement, among the common people, of the sweeping denunciations of Christian ethics by the priesthood; an indorsement founded usually on personal experience. The individual Mormon has his particular instances of Christian dereliction of duty, both in laymen and clergymen, to relate. Before he was led off into the vagaries of the Latter Day delusion he was first, by way of preparation, shocked and rendered religiously indifferent by the faulty lives of church members who yet stood high in the church's esteem; he grew into a cynical state of mind by watching those Christians who "prayed on their knees on the Sabbath, and preyed on their neighbors during the week,"—those ministers who, especially in the state churches abroad, disgraced their calling and their Christian profession by the pronounced worldliness and even, in some cases, gross intemperance of their lives. He became in a vague, unformulated way skeptical of the reality of all religion, and entirely indifferent to its claims. Then there appeared on the scene a new figure,—a man, poor and uncultivated like himself, who preached, not for wages, as he believed the ministers did, but for love of the gospel and of men; who came "without purse and scrip," and who claimed to represent the true, original gospel; that gospel which the various Christian

churches had perverted and reconciled to the evil world, to which it was naturally, as taught by its great Author, implacably antagonized ; a gospel which would make all men brethren again, and which announced to him that the "latter days" were here, and the coming of the Lord was at hand. Is it strange that the new system captivated his fancy and stirred to their depths those religious forces which had lain dormant in him so long ? No more strange than the growth of weeds which the best soil will present when broken up by the plough and then left to the sowing of the winds. The preparatory work — the ploughing — has been done in the man's heart by training amid Christian institutions and instruction in the outlines of Christian truth ; but, unsupported by Christian example and unenforced by the quickening power of the Divine Spirit, what has this training done for him except to show him the contrast between Christian precept and Christian practice?

This state of things forms the opportunity of Mormonism. It can do little or nothing where Christianity is unknown ; it can do little or nothing where Christianity is a living, aggressive power in heart and life ; its sphere lies — and it knows the fact full well — where the church exalts dogmas at the expense of duties, where she presents creeds in place of deeds. The imminent danger to a church thus slighting the ethical part of her mission has not, indeed, waited for this late day to be pointed out. Ecclesiastical history, on the large scale and on the small, is all too full of examples which bring the fact home to the church with peremptory force. But it is a fact which men so easily forget, a lesson they are so prone to overlook, that it needs constant iteration and constant emphasizing. Mormonism may be called, with scarcely any exaggeration, a frightful protest against formal, worldly Christianity.

3. The impartial visitor to these valleys who has formed his opinion of Mormonism, heretofore, entirely from anti-Mormon accounts of detestable deeds done in Utah — accounts too often well founded — has almost certainly a great surprise in store for him when he comes to enter Mormon homes, and to meet the Mormon people face to face in daily intercourse. He finds that the stories of dark deeds which have come to his ears, however well authenticated, do not correctly represent the rank and file of the Latter Day Saints. But more than this ; he discovers that even the specimens of Mormon belief which have been repeated to him in the very words of church dignitaries do not give a correct impression of Mormon life. The average Mormon's moral tone is considerably above that of his creed ; his life is a much better one than

would naturally be expected from his beliefs. And truly every lover of his fellow-men must rejoice that this allowance can be made, for Mormon theology is positively atrocious. Not content with degrading God to the puny moral stature of Joseph Smith and endowing the Almighty with the mental foibles and physical likeness and limitations of his creatures, making Him but a huge shadow of misshapen man on the mists of the night, it must needs go back to the exploded myths of twenty centuries ago, and exhume the reeking, offensive remains of polytheism; it must teach its blinded believers that there are hosts of gods; — is not יְהוָה plural? — that these gods are both male and female; — does not Jesus speak of “our Father in heaven,” and thereby imply *necessarily* the existence of our mother in heaven? — and that these divinities are living in a state of polygamy, and producing hosts of spiritual children for whom it is the lofty mission of Latter Day Saints, also living in polygamy, to provide bodies! If any one has discovered in the vocabulary of the English language an adjective adequate to express a devout Christian’s estimate of this theology, as the full system is unfolded to him, the writer has yet to learn of it.

But not only are the Mormons in Utah better than their beliefs; they are a better class of men abroad than they are in Utah. It is the uniform testimony of apostate Mormons who now hate the system most bitterly that when they joined the church in “the old country” they thought the Mormons the best people on the face of the earth, and that it was not till they arrived “in Zion” that they were undeceived. How shall we explain these two phenomena? How is it that, in exact reverse of the usual state of things, a people is found better than its creed? How is it that, with the same creed, a God-fearing, law-abiding people in one hemisphere becomes a God-debasing, law-defying community in the other? The explanation of both these facts is doubtless to be found in the working of the same agency, — in the action of Christianity on Mormonism, to no inconsiderable extent in Utah, but in far greater degree outside of it, compelling the Mormon leaders to emphasize, to some extent at least, the better portions of their creed, forcing the “Saints” to return frequently to their Bibles, and to substantiate their position from the Scripture pages. Of course this aspect of affairs is full of hope for Utah. With the increase of genuine Christianity here, the Mormon Church will be forced to improve, and to discard many a barbarous element to which it now clings.

Turning now to the bearing of the foregoing on Christian discussion, we come upon the question, Can a church tolerate within its fold, in its pulpits or in any position of influence over others, men who do not hold to the substance, at least, of its creed? The decisive point as to the effect of a creed on the life seems to lie in the way in which it is apprehended. A dogma which is grasped by the intellect only and wins nothing but assent in one individual, thus lying entirely inert in him, may become a great power, a source of continual incitement, in another, simply because the affections of the latter have gone out to it and his enthusiasm has been kindled by it. Or, again, illustrating by the contrast between foreign Mormonism and the Rocky Mountain article, the same creed in every respect, made up of truth and error mixed, may be held by two different men; and in one, only the good elements being enshrined in his heart, that creed may be an elevating, almost a regenerating, force; while in the other, the good elements being merely assented to, the base features cherished and rejoiced in, it will be as a millstone dragging him down to spiritual death. It must be evident, if the above positions have been well taken, that two applicants for places of influence in a Christian church may offer precisely the same confession of faith, yet one of them be a man whom no church can afford to lose, and the other a dead weight in the Lord's army; and it would seem that while the church will not readily become too strenuous for truth and "sound doctrine," as these enter into the real inner life of the man, yet it may exaggerate the importance of the intellectual side of Christian belief; it may overestimate the value in the Christian minister, for example, of doctrines that are almost universally held as matters of assent only.

4. The last point to be noticed in this paper is the contrast, only too apparent, between Christian missions in Utah and Mormon missions in many parts of the United States and Europe. The contrast may be stated very briefly: The Mormons are successful; we are not. The addition of four or five hundred recruits to the numbers of the "Saints," from the East or from over the sea, is an event of comparatively frequent occurrence. On the other hand, while Christian ministers have been at work in the principal Mormon settlements for years, it is rare, indeed, that the true believers in a town cannot be counted on the fingers of the two hands. To what are we to attribute this disparity of results? To the strength of the Mormon system, prejudicing its adherents bitterly against us? Yes, undoubtedly, in part. But it should be

remembered that the Mormons meet bitter opposition and great prejudice in their missionary work. Moreover, there is quite a class in Utah, especially among those brought up in Mormonism, which is either opposed to "the church" or so far indifferent to it as to have little or no prejudice against Christian workers. Unpleasant as the idea may be, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that in this connection we have another instance where "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." The explanation of the difference in results is found mainly, in the opinion of this writer, in the difference of the character of the missionaries. It may surprise the reader that Mormons should be considered superior in missionary qualifications to thoroughly educated Christian ministers; but a little reflection will convince him that it is quite possible that such may be the case. In estimating the usefulness of an implement its adaptedness is to be considered rather than its intrinsic value. The rifle is a nobler instrument than the shot-gun, but it is quite certain that the latter will far surpass the former as a means of killing sparrows and other small birds. Nor is it any disparagement to the great value and wonderful power of Krupp cannon to affirm that they are of no use in a cavalry charge. The thoroughly educated, scholarly minister, the man of culture and broad thinking, is often a kind of misplaced Krupp gun in this region and, it is to be feared, in other missionary districts as well. His ten years or more of higher intellectual training have divorced him largely from the life of the common people, have placed almost a gulf between him and the lower classes. His tastes, his interests, his modes of thought are entirely different from theirs. His sermons, despite his constant effort to the contrary, go over the heads of his auditors, while their lack of interest reacts on him to confuse and embarrass. His illustrations are drawn from a world unknown to them, and he has first to explain his illustration before he can show its application. He goes around among the people socially, and finds as he calls from house to house that he and they have exceedingly few topics of common interest. The subjects which interest them, and which they are capable of talking about, are of such a character that he has to spur himself up vigorously to take even a momentary interest in them.

As may be readily surmised, all this is quite different with the Mormon missionary. He goes out into the same stratum of society, but it is as a friend among equals. He knows little more than those he preaches to, and consequently his thoughts are not

in a different world. His illustrations are of an apt, homely type taken from the common life of the people, and go straight to the mark. The methods of thought and presentation which he has been accustomed to are just those most germane to the mental activity of his hearers, while socially he and they are on a common plane of interest and understanding. Is it absurd to claim that he is better fitted for the work in hand than his educated, classically trained competitor? Is it not rather apparent that on the average missionary field the great desideratum is not to secure weight of metal — to recall the military figure — sufficient to crush the antagonist, but to throw a charge, be it never so small, that shall succeed in hitting him? There is no difficulty in the crushing, so far as intellectual battle goes, if the hitting can only be accomplished. It is not a strong intellectual foe, marching upon us in great force and driving us into our strongest redoubts, which we have before us, but one carrying on a guerrilla warfare, hiding from open battle and firing upon us in the rear from behind stone walls and hedges. For such fighting it is not great weight and power which are requisite, but readiness and adaptation. And if lack of adaptation explains, in great measure, the paucity of results of Christian labor in Utah, the writer submits the query to his brethren whether the same explanation may not apply to other missionary fields where ignorance and low social development, rather than keen-witted and well-informed skepticism, are the obstacles to be overcome.

*W. Forbes Cooley.*

LEHI, UTAH.

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#### THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.

UNTIL quite recently the labor of children had been a forgotten factor in the labor problem. Half a century ago children might have been properly regarded as a leisure class; rarely, if ever, were they employed outside of their own homes. Even before the census of 1870 no account whatever appears to have been taken of children employed in our industries. With the reports of that year child-labor began to loom up as a formidable fact; we are met at once with the signal statement that more than 739,000 children — boys under 16 years and girls under 15 — are wage-receivers in the United States. Ten years later the number has grown to 1,118,000, an increase of 379,000, or 66 per cent.;

and that even in the face of an admittedly defective enumeration. In mechanical and manufacturing industries alone the increase was from 115,000 to 182,000, or 58 3-4 per cent.; while in the same period the adult labor, or rather the labor of males over 16 years, made an advance of only 43 per cent.; and that of females over 15 years, 64 per cent. Already in twelve leading industries in this class women and children compose a fair majority, and in some important cases have an almost absolute monopoly of labor as against men.

Child-labor is not confined to any particular State or locality; it follows certain lines of industry, and generally finds a welcome wherever it can be used. In some instances the introduction of machinery has thrown the labor largely out of the hands of adults into that of children. Brains and brawn can then easily be dispensed with, and by the attachment of a bit of human machinery the process becomes complete. In the iron and steel industry, for example, in ten years following 1870, the employment of boys increased from 2,400 to 7,700; the per cent. of increase (216) is the significant feature when compared with 78 per cent., the increase in employees over 16 years of age. In eleven of the older States the relative rate of increase in child-labor, as compared with that of men and women, in manufacturing and mechanical occupations, for the same period, may be seen from the following table.

	Children.	Females over 15.	Males over 16.
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Illinois . . . . .	177	127	65
Maine . . . . .	164	2	3
Maryland . . . . .	160	162	37
Iowa . . . . .	127	51	8
Ohio . . . . .	116	60	35
New Jersey . . . . .	95	151	32
Pennsylvania . . . . .	54	65	11
New York . . . . .	43	115	36
Rhode Island . . . . .	29	24	28
Massachusetts . . . . .	23	23	27
Connecticut . . . . .	20	38	22

Only in the last three of these has the increase been approximately concurrent. There is, however, much to be read between the lines. Nobly as Massachusetts has come to their rescue in the last few years, the condition of the children in her workshops and factories is not such as she is proud of. In the establishments of Rhode Island are to be found many young children whom the in-

spectors in the Bay State wisely considered too young to be employed at all. Despite the efforts of the Connecticut school authorities to do their part, there are many workmen who will testify to the shameful condition of too great a number of juvenile operatives in the villages and cities of the State. A high school principal in one of the manufacturing towns stated recently that he had to fight children and parents alike to keep pupils of the working classes in school after they had once acquired an elementary knowledge of the three R's.

Thanks mainly to the thoughtful policy of trades societies there is a steadily growing reaction in progress against child-labor in several Eastern and Middle States. But the wrongs of a generation cannot be repaired by an act of legislature or the gathering of statistics. We might, however, expect the newer States of the South and West to profit, in their development, by the errors of the older States. But the hope only meets a contrary answer : The industrial growth of the former is destined, from present appearances, to repeat the unenviable record of the New England States in this matter. The labor of children in Lowell is on the decline ; in Chicago it is increasing at an astonishing rate. The factory and tenement-house inspectors of the latter city reported 4,600 boys and girls, of fifteen years and under, in the factories and workshops in 1881 ; the next year they found 6,900, an increase of 68 per cent. in a twelvemonth in the same districts, and that, too, while there was an increase of 53 per cent. in female and only 18 per cent. in male laborers beyond that age.

But the real meaning of the labor of children is not to be found in bureaucratic statistics. Those who would see it as it is must go in and out among the toiling millions and learn, with open eyes, how the other half of the world lives. There is no other way to turn into fact what must otherwise often appear almost incredible. The burden of reproach falls on the factory system. In Baltimore the ratio of children to all other employees in the cotton mills is 1 : 4 ; in Augusta, Ga., 1 : 3 ; in Allegheny, Pa., 1 : 4 ; in Brooklyn (cordage), 1 : 3 ; in Lancaster, Pa., 1 : 5 ; and in Boston, 12 : 17. In the six North Atlantic States, in 225 textile factories of special prominence, 17 per cent. of the employees are children. In 36 leading textile factories of Massachusetts 20 per cent. of the operatives are children. The 1,500,000 spindles of Fall River are tended by 12,500 operatives, 3,000 of which are not over 15 years of age. Of the same class in the mills of Lowell, 15 per cent. are found, and nearly the same proportion is at work in the

factories of Lawrence. Together with her labor problems, Fall River has to deal with an intricate race problem, and any progress towards the solution of either must be slower for this very fact. With these discordant elements mill life loses none of its demoralizing effect upon children. "I would not," said an operative before an investigating committee, "permit my girls to work in any other mill than the one I am in. Not that I fear that they will do anything wrong, but the influences of a mill are very bad. If a child of a certain age goes to work in the mill, constantly breathing a temperature of 90 degrees both winter and summer, it is sure to grow up puny and die early." Another stated that children put into the mill at an early age become useless at the age of twenty. Many workmen with large families keep their children at work, without the least share in their earnings. Broken ambitions, exhausted bodies, lost self-respect, — what will the next generation be, arising from a childhood in which even the conditions of physical development, to say nothing of the rest, are not only wanting but made impossible!

The growing tendency on the part of parents of the worse class to put children to work before a legal age is attained, and thus to avoid sending them to school for the required time, leads to the gradual extinction of the male operative. Manufacturers are not wanting who aid parents, native and foreign alike, but especially the latter, to bring this vengeance upon their own heads. In both Fall River and Lawrence there are families the men of which are compelled to do the housework and attend to the youngest children at home while their wives and older children are at work in the mills.

It is gratifying to learn, from the reliable source of an official inquiry recently made in Massachusetts, that the morality of female operatives is as a rule much higher than might be expected, judging from their circumstances. The large percentage of operatives not over twenty years of age is a noticeable feature in these three cities. Not less than forty per cent. of the whole belong to this class, which has been in the mills more or less permanently during the late years of industrial stimulation, and as a natural result neglected educational considerations to an extent that gave the State — for these conditions are general, not local — the high number of 75,000 illiterates over the age of ten in 1880, — a number equal to the population of the twenty-fourth city in the Union.

Across the line in Rhode Island affairs are still worse in every

respect; children compose twelve per cent. of the whole manufacturing population. While in Massachusetts the working hours are legally reduced to ten per day, in Rhode Island eleven hours are not sufficient to satisfy her industrial zeal. The stripling of a girl or boy of nine years is at work as long as the mature adult. In many of these mills premiums are offered to weavers for extra work, and the children who help this class of operatives toil over the time recognized by law as the limit. In her numerous villages children are found at work as soon as they can help to contribute to the general fund of the family; not because the stress of poverty requires it, but simply because the unchecked and confirmed extravagance of the family demands it. It is a shame, however, that they should be brought up in the factory. The writer has noticed that in this State it is not exceptional for a mother of a family to have her child of a few years old with her at work in the factory. Its nursery life being spent in the midst of work, it is given something to do as soon as its growing energies can be turned to account, and it begins work much earlier than it would under other circumstances. When these children leave the mill, day by day, there is no natural impulse to play; they have lost that spontaneous buoyancy which belongs to the life of every child. It forms part of the fibre of the cloth they have helped to make, standing on their feet during the eleven or twelve hours of the process, with an interval of a twenty-five minute "half-hour" in which to eat a cold lunch. Their homes become places merely to which they repair to eat twice a day and to sleep at night,—little more, indeed. A factory official, pointing to a boy no more than nine years old whom he had just brought in and whom he said chewed tobacco vigorously, admitted that those children, of which this lad was one of thirty, ought not be in the mills at all, and further assured me that they had to be dragged out of bed in the morning to be on time at the factory. Without having slept enough, they gulp down a breakfast for which they are likely to have no appetite, and within the doleful sound of the factory bell hasten away to give up another inch of their lives to perpetuate our darling industries. An extreme picture? Not unless the testimony of superintendents, of operatives, of merchants who live among the people whose children toil and spin and are sacrificed thereto is to be taken as extreme. Each village physician bears damaging testimony to the effects of factory labor upon the health of the children who participate. In the light of these facts it may not be far to find why the smallest of the States stands first in the

order of illiteracy of those of her inhabitants over ten years of age.

Turning from New England, we find that the textile industries of Pennsylvania give work to 5,300 boys of fifteen years and under and 4,300 girls of fourteen years and under, in addition to 27,000 women and girls beyond that age. It is perfectly safe to say that no less than 10,000 children under fifteen years are found among the 65,000 employees of this class throughout the State. The mills and shops of Philadelphia alone give employment to twenty and a quarter per cent. of the city's population. Children are at work exceptionally long hours in the stores and tailoring shops, in the latter of which there are about 12,000 employees. Among them may be seen pale and half-starved young girls who work from fourteen to sixteen hours per day. Not a few of the older ones work half a day on Sunday to keep soul and body together on four or five dollars a week. Many manufacturers are so niggard with the room they occupy as to necessitate the crowding together into small space twice the number there should be at work. On the same floor there are often several different workshops partitioned off, and occupied by a dozen or fifteen operatives who breathe the steam and dust of the unventilated rooms. In winter the hot, noisome atmosphere lingering about 100 degrees endangers their health indoors, and exposes them no less by the abrupt change upon leaving the shop, especially since young persons in factory work are none too warmly clothed as a rule. There is no doubt that the burden of these evils and their consequences falls most heavily upon the hospitals and the homes for the children of the poor in the end. Though the Quaker city may cover many of her sins by her charity, it is bad economy to encourage the abuses of the factory system by opening — must it be said? — a storehouse for the human machinery which the system has once worn out and dispensed with.

The rapid development of manufactures in New Jersey has brought fully 15,000 children, ranging from the age of eight to fifteen years, into her labor market. In the city of Paterson, out of a working population of 20,000 there are 3,000 children at work. The second annual report of the inspector of workshops and factories, just issued, throws clear light upon the condition of child-labor in that State. "The examinations we made," said the head of the commission, "in the leading districts of the State dishearten and distress. Nothing short of personal experience would have led us to believe in the frightful amount of ignorance which exists.

Large numbers of children have been examined in all manufacturing districts. They were conducted with a view to reach correct conclusions in the interest of the State, the child, and society generally. Almost all the children examined were between the ages of twelve and fifteen. The average age at which they went to work was nine years. As a rule they had been sent to school about their sixth or seventh year, and taken away about two years later for the purpose of being put to work. All of them had been accustomed to work ten hours a day, and many of them thirteen and more hours a day through over-time. . . . The general appearance of these children is worthy of note. Children who had been set to work at an early age were as a rule delicate, puny, and ignorant; they knew the least, having forgotten the little they had been taught before going to work. . . . Children of thirteen years, with little, old faces, said they were satisfied with work, and that they did n't care to play or go to school. Fourteen hours a day was in some cases the service rendered by children of thirteen years, the excuse being that the extra time was allowed off their Saturday labor. Many of the children complained that they could not attend night school, through having to do overwork, and others said that they were unable, after ten and a half hours' labor, to attend night school." It was discovered that "some employers send agents to Castle Garden, in New York city, to hunt up poor Europeans, with children, who cannot speak the English language, the object being, of course, to get the labor of parents and children at a nominal price and to bring both into competition with our citizens."

A local reporter met a group of boys in the Passaic depot about a year ago. "Why are you boys not in school?" he inquired of them. "We don't go to school; we work; and the mill is stopped to-day," was the answer. "How old are you?" the reporter queried of one, when a childish voice replied, "Just nine, sir; but I'm older than my brother, and he works in the mill, too." These were only a small delegation of the 90,000 children in the State, who attend no school, plus 70,000 more who attend any length of time less than four months.

As far as their education is concerned, many of these children examined in this long and careful inquiry might almost as well have been brought up in Central Africa. The vast majority could not spell words of one syllable; only ten per cent. could answer questions in simple multiplication, and the majority of the rest could not add the simplest numbers. Three fourths of them knew

absolutely nothing of what is taught in the common schools. All these children were between the ages of twelve and fifteen; their school-days are virtually a thing of the past, unless the arm of the law brings them where most of them should be—in a school-room.

The question of child-labor touches vital points in the home-life of the working-classes. It may indeed be hard to say which is the greater evil,—to take the home into the factory or the factory into the home. The government cigar factory at Seville, Spain, furnishes an instance of the former kind of social distortion. In the manufacture of tobacco, in this country, in which twenty-two per cent. of the employees are children, and from which women seem instinctively to shrink, the tendency has seemed clearly enough to be to convert the home into a workshop. Bad as are the conditions of long hours, close rooms, and impure air in the factory, the circumstances are many times worse when the children are required to work in the same rooms in which they eat and sleep. On this side of the Atlantic there was, perhaps, no more revolting picture of the debasement of labor than that which existed among the tenement-house tobacco-workers of New York city before the passage of the prohibitory law last winter,<sup>1</sup> by the enforcement of which the degrading practice was for a time driven into neighboring cities and towns. Previous to that the unwillingness on the part of native and the better class of foreign workmen to sacrifice their own homes to the greed of the unscrupulous manufacturers and landlords had thrown cigar-making largely into the hands of Bohemians and other foreigners, whose ideas of family comfort are such that privacy, cleanliness, and fresh air are as unknown luxuries to them. Their children were known to have toiled from dawn till late at night. Hours per day had to be extended by those more humane manufacturers whose employees worked in the factory; otherwise, the competition of the tenement-house cigar-makers would have driven at once, as it was gradually doing, the former out of the business entirely. Thus those children who worked in the factory as well were forced to share with adults in the excessively long day's work. The health of the children in either of these cases must deteriorate, to say nothing about a decent bringing-up. When they are once old enough to go to school they are thought altogether too old to be spared from work. Children whom the parents would not dare to bring with them into the factory of a large city work at home

<sup>1</sup> The Albany Court of Appeals has since declared this law unconstitutional.  
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from the time they arise till the time of retiring, eating their meals without leaving their tasks. It is upon these people — the children — in the hands of such parents, that the boards of health of New York city have long looked with despair of effecting a reformation. Though it may be denied, on good grounds, that the factory system essentially aids in producing a criminal class, the presence in any community of so many families of young laborers under the domestic system of industries — a class whose mental and moral training is a veritable blank — can certainly not be regarded as much less dangerous, potentially, than a criminal class.

In the tobacco-growing regions of the North and South, factories have been built, in which large numbers of children are employed. In Covington, Ky., the ratio of children of 15 years and under to all other employees is 3 : 7; in Louisville, 1 : 5; in Toledo, O., 1 : 3; in Richmond, Va., 1 : 4; in St. Louis, Mo., 1 : 4. As in other industries here, too, improvements in machinery are apt to increase the ratio in favor of the children. In the counties of eastern Pennsylvania there are quite a number of villages wholly built up by this trade. One of these counties, with 175 establishments, exhibits the evils of child-labor at its worst, perhaps, from a moral point of view. About half of the persons at work are boys and girls, and fully one fourth of the whole number employed are children not more than fifteen, and most of them are very much younger, who have gone into the factory at the age of nine. Even those who are left at home in the villages have work brought to them from the shops. During the day and evening boys and girls of six years of age engage themselves at piece-work in their own homes, sometimes under the care of servants while the mother is in the factory, or under her own care while she makes cigars at home. Children of nine years spend twelve hours of hot summer days in the vitiated atmosphere of these almost entirely unventilated factory rooms, the sanitary arrangements of which are in a shocking state of neglect. Persons who enter these shops for continuous work do so knowingly at the risk of health; and the common occurrence of an employee being compelled to leave the work, with a broken-down constitution, after a few years, amply justifies their expectations. Boys and girls who begin an apprenticeship are bound over by indenture, so that legalized pressure may readily be brought to bear upon them by the employer to keep them from leaving before the expiration of the apprenticeship, should they find their health to be imperiled

by remaining. A clergyman, whose parish included several of these factory villages, and who has made earnest effort to improve the condition of these people, confirmed these observations by the statement that he had personally officiated at the burial of young persons whose death was pronounced by medical authority to have been occasioned by the poisonous influences of the tobacco-shops.

And there is undoubtedly need of missionary work among them. The moral condition of boys and girls brought up under these influences is deplorable. Morality is openly scoffed at, and religious conduct cursed. Crowded together in small rooms or grouped around some piece of work, both sexes together, the youngest with the older ones show themselves the most ready masters of indecent language in their conversations. A child's store of modesty will not last long in such an atmosphere. Girls and boys of thirteen years are in the habit of visiting liquor saloons after work-hours ; intoxication is no rarity among the girls even, and one of fourteen years was known to have had a species of delirium tremens. The comparative remoteness of these villages and rural districts, in many cases, from active centres of influence aggravates the evils into a sort of social leprosy. The constant association of the sexes in the factories and the want of a restraining self-respect outside give them up to the drift of passion from the years of early youth, for which their experience as young children in the factories has prepared them. The results are seen in nothing more conspicuously than in the premature and often compulsory marriages among the operatives ; in the frequency and dispatch with which homes are founded and abandoned before husband and wife have any sense of the obligations of wedlock, and, worst of all, in the many illegitimate children of boys and girls little more than half way through their teens.

Turning to the present progress of manufacturing in the Southern States, we find an active demand for the labor of children ; even more so than elsewhere. In North Carolina thirteen per cent. of the cotton factory operatives are children not over fifteen years of age ; Virginia employs a somewhat greater proportion, and Georgia, nine and a half per cent. In a typical manufacturing city of Georgia there are ten cotton mills, in some of which over 700 hands are employed, nearly all of whom are women and children. An authority who has seen much of industrial life on both sides of the Atlantic writes : "I was struck with surprise at finding so many young children employed. Aside from the children, the

operatives looked exceedingly healthy." The rule in these factories was not to admit children to work under the age of ten years. A superintendent, generous and sympathetic, as many of them are, admitted that it was wrong to employ these children before the age of fourteen; yet there were actually some at work at the age of nine years. The laws of the State require a child's attendance at school until the age of ten; but what can a child have learned by that time! Once released from the burdens of school, educated (?) presumably, they enter the factories, to get from \$1 to \$1.50 per week of sixty-six or sixty-nine hours. This is one of a large class of rapidly growing industrial centres of the new South. The fact that the South must create a new industrial class in the new civilization upon which she has fairly entered may do much to excuse the excessive demands of the spirit of development upon her child population. She can far better wait for corrective tendencies than the North can, where industrial life is settled; and where there is abundance of available laborers there can be no such extenuation of the ruinous demand for the labor of children. There are better laws on the statute-books of the North, it is true, but they are often — indeed generally — as dead as those of Draco on this matter.

In the American coal-fields the labor of children is found in one of its worst forms. The industrial statistics of Pennsylvania (1882-83) report 87,000 employees in the anthracite regions of that State, 24,000 of whom are boys, and four fifteenths of these are fifteen or less years of age. Some months since a resident in these regions was led to an inquiry into the employment of children in mines by having noticed a boy of six and a half years regularly accompanying his father to work. Boys of from six to fourteen years earned forty-five cents per day at picking slate; of these there are thousands at work. The labor of driving mules in the slopes and gangways is performed by boys between the ages of eight and sixteen years at about sixty cents a day; and some a little older earn a dollar or more. At the tender age of seven boys are taken down to work on night shifts with their fathers. Under the surface, at the depth of from 200 to 700 feet, breathing in the dampness, the poisonous gases of the coal and powder-smoke, they are doomed to hard labor as if they were working out the penalty of some unpardonable crime. These boys leave home at six o'clock in the morning, on the day shift, and often do not reach home again until seven at night. To them the effects cannot be other than a loss of health and deformity of body, under such premature hard-

ships. And who is the cause of all this? It cannot be denied that many, perhaps the majority, of these children who work in and at the mines are driven there by the intemperance of their parents. On pay-day the town becomes a pandemonium of drunken revelings and quarrels. Yet these boys, and others whose parents are not intemperate, are invited into and then retained in the mines by the grasping heartlessness of the stupendous coal monopoly, whose policy it is to employ boys to do men's work wherever possible. Last winter, at Wilkesbarre and neighboring towns, the boys who worked in the mines waged a furious warfare against the Hungarians of the Wyoming Valley, who had come into competition with them, showing only too clearly the influence of the boy-miner in labor matters. In their strikes they are vigorous and energetic, and not infrequently stone a tyrannical overseer out of the breaker as readily as they would a dog.

But we need go no farther, though there might be mentioned many other industries employing children under equal disadvantages. On this stunted, ignorant, and miserable mass of humanity one cannot look without mingled feelings of sympathy and indignation. Nothing can be more short-sighted than the unlimited tolerance of the labor of children on the plea of the poverty of parents who, for mercenary considerations, submit their offspring to a worse form of slavery by rearing them in ignorance. Corporations can hardly as yet be expected to see to the educating of their employees, and not a few of the more selfish prefer to hold them in ignorance. It is absurd to suppose that a young child, after having worked from ten to thirteen hours during the day, will be profited by attending night school. As a matter of fact these night schools are attended, if at all, by boys mostly and a few girls who have spent their school years before sixteen in the factory, so that at the age when they should be building up body and mind spontaneously the children of the working classes are wasting away their surplus of physical energy in a routine of drudgery.

Here then is a malady to be cured. Parents will of themselves apply no remedy, and corporations have no souls to sympathize with the unenfranchised children. Remedial measures of some kind, by a strong hand, are therefore necessary, in view of the further importunity of parents and the unwillingness on the part of private individuals to incur personal odium in the attempt at local reform. Fortunately the trades associations are turning their activity to better account in helping themselves against this encroaching evil to their children. The sentiment of communities, as a

basis of legislation, forms a mighty consensus with them in calling upon the State to save itself by saving the children of the Commonwealth from a protracted suicide going on under the broad shelter of so-called progress. As they now stand, the factory and the common school are at variance with each other. Both of these institutions stand before the State, as the two Hebrew women stood before Solomon, asking it to decide whose children these are.

It is next to impossible to enforce the laws securing to children the right of an education so long as our industries throw open their doors indiscriminately to young children of school age. For this reason laws affecting the labor of children are complementary to educational laws. The good results already apparent from the operation of such laws *enforced* in New Jersey, Massachusetts, and parts of New York justify the adoption of such measures in every State. If only a few out of the many shorten a day's work and restrict the employment of children, while other States go on as before, the unequal competition must ultimately drive out those industries of the former in which child-labor is available. The experience of Massachusetts in this matter has made a ten-hour law unpopular, and a similar bill in the legislature of Rhode Island now is not at all likely to reach the statute-books. The only way out, if the States will not act in concert, seems to be by the adoption of the half-time system so successfully followed in the manufacturing and mining centres of England and Wales, by which children of school age work half of an adult's work-day and attend school during the other half. On this basis the factory and school may be reconciled and the physical growth of the child be developed, instead of retarded by overpressure at work. While the one is giving the child the education conditional of good citizenship the other may teach him the practice of self-maintenance, and thus work out together in some degree the intricate problem of industrial education.

In the present phase of this question, from an unbiased point of view the children of the laboring classes stand between two forces: on the one hand are the goads of poverty and the allurements of gain; on the other, the training of the mind and heart. In an age when all classes are permeated by the industrial spirit, it is easy to guess whither the weaker ones will drift. We must all rue the day when the children of the well-to-do and rich go to school and the children of the poor go to work,—divorced from an inheritance that is entailed by the force of circumstances to others than themselves. The cardinal principle of legislation will

bear repeating,—to secure to all their rights, and to compel no one to do right. That State government must be one of sublime stupidity in its conception of its functions which declines, on the plea of non-interference, to deal in due time with this critical problem,—this disintegration of the domestic order, this play of silently working forces which are daily resolving the adverse interests of industrial life more and more into a treacherous struggle of factory *versus* family.

*John F. Crowell.*

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW HAVEN, CT.

## EDITORIAL.

## PROGRESSIVE ORTHODOXY.

## III. THE ATONEMENT.

THE doctrine of Atonement was later in its historical development than the doctrine of Incarnation. Not until council after council had adopted exact articles concerning the Person of Christ was there any considerable discussion concerning the work of Christ. The fact of atonement through the death of the Redeemer was accepted from the first with penitence and trust, but scarcely any attempt was made to discover the reasons which made it necessary and right that Christ should be offered for the sins of the world. Even in the eleventh century the theory was somewhat prevalent that Christ's death was a ransom paid to the devil. Why the development of this doctrine should have begun so late we need not now take time to inquire. It suggests the fact that there has never at any time been such agreement concerning the philosophy of atonement as has been secured concerning the person of our Lord. The church even now waits for a doctrinal statement which shall be comprehensive, satisfactory, and, at the same time, free from ethical objections and from inconsistencies. It is the object of the present article simply to indicate the lines along which intelligent Christian thought is moving, and to recognize some of the conclusions which are gaining acceptance in respect to the revelation of God's love in the sacrifice of Christ. It will be left to the reader to note for himself the modification, or even disappearance, of crude theories through which, at one time or another, atonement has been regarded.

The starting-point from which inquiry has usually set forth has been the sin of man. Man sinned, and the race became corrupted. Therefore, Jesus was born, suffered, and died, in order that man might be saved from sin. But this view is too narrow. It puts part of the truth in place of the whole. It virtually declares that if there had been no sin, we should not have known God in Christ. The old Latin hymn would have been correct in representing sin as a blessing, a *felix culpa*, since through it we have such and so great a Redeemer. There is also a difficulty in believing that but for this insignificant earth the most glorious revelation of God might not have been given at all. The principal defect, however, is that Christ is made contingent on sin, and that sin, therefore, appears to be not only more fundamental than Christ, but an absolute necessity, in order that God might reveal himself in Christ. The old sub- and supra-lapsarian theories are waymarks of the struggle of profound minds with this great difficulty.

But redemption from sin, even if the most important, is but one of

the revelations of God in Christ ; and to understand it we need to find its relation and proportion. The correct and Scriptural starting-point is the mediation of Christ in its universal character. Christ mediates God to the entire universe. Through Christ the worlds were made, and through Him they consist. In Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible. To Him ultimately not the earth only, but the whole universe is to be made subject, things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth. John as well as Paul perceives this truth. Indeed, the Gospel of John comes to earthly redemption from the larger view of universal mediation. First we learn that all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made, — and not until He is known as Head of the universe do we perceive, nor can we well understand, that He is the Life and Light of men. The whole truth, then, is that Christ is the revealing or manifesting principle ; or, more exactly, that through the Logos, the Word, the second Person of the Trinity, that which is absolute fullness and truth in God is communicated into finite existences ; that through the Eternal Word the created universe is possible ; that therefore the universe is Christ's, the revolving worlds and they that dwell therein are his, to the glory of God the Father. The created universe and all rational beings are through Christ and in Christ. Therefore He mediates or reveals God to any part of his universe according to the condition or need which may exist in that part. If at any point his world is sick, weary, guilty, hopeless, there Christ is touched and hurt, and there He appears to restore and comfort. This earth is, it may be, the sheep lost in the wilderness, while the ninety and nine are safe in the fold. Christ cannot be indifferent to the least of his creatures in its pain and wickedness, for his universe is not attached to him externally, but vitally. He is not a governor set over it, but is its life everywhere. He feels its every movement, most of all its spiritual life and spiritual feebleness or disease, and appears in his glorious power even at the remotest point. If there were but one sinner, Christ would seek him. If but one planet were invaded by sin, Christ would come to its relief. It is, of course, true that in order to reveal God in a world of sin and guilt the historical conditions, and especially the suffering conditions, of our Lord's life must have been, in important respects, what they would not otherwise have been. It is also probable that the profoundest disclosure of the love of God in Christ has been made in the redemption of sinful man. But only the conditions, not the power and reality of Christ, are contingent on sin. As redemption reveals to principalities and powers in heavenly places the manifold wisdom of God, so *our* thought of the Person and work of Christ is enlarged by knowing his universal relations, and we perceive more clearly the significance of his humiliation to earth. Other orders of beings know Christ better because He suffered on earth. "This planet," says Dorner, "may be the Bethlehem of the universe." But if this planet and the sin of man exhaust the meaning of Christ's media-

tion, we are left among absurdities and confusions. Bethlehem itself could not be a sacred name if there were no Jerusalem, nor Samaria, nor uttermost parts of the earth, to which from Bethlehem He goes out, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

The opinion, therefore, has reason in it that there would have been the Incarnation even if there had been no sin. It is not easy to believe that the Word of God would not have become flesh but for sin. Man was created a physical being. He was destined for a physical, earthly development, and to people the material world. In his perfection he is to have that which corresponds to the body,—a spiritual body. His knowledge of God was to come through Christ; and the nearest manifestations, we can readily imagine, would in any event have corresponded with the actual conditions of man's existence and progress. It may be, indeed, that the human race would have come even earlier into the knowledge of God through Christ if there had been no sin; that, while sin had much to do with the conditions of our Lord's life and work, it may actually have retarded his historical appearance.

It would be interesting to show, if space allowed, that the Incarnation itself has important relations to the reconciliation of man and God; that the Person of Christ, realizing as it does the affinity of divine and human, the perfection of human character in union with God, and other possibilities of humanity, has more to do with our restoration to God than we have commonly supposed. And it is always to be remembered that the work of Christ has no meaning apart from his Person; that his work is not something set off by itself on which we can depend, as if the Atonement were a thing, a quantity of suffering endured, an impersonal result. "His own self bore our sins in his own body on the tree." "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

Having gained what may be called the perspective of the earthly revelation of God in Christ, we are at a point where we can inquire concerning the specific relations of our Lord's sacrifice to the redemption of sinners. The very best word the gospel gives to express the complete result of Christ's work is reconciliation, a word signifying that God is brought into a new relation to man and that man is brought into a new relation with God. The ultimate fact, however, is that God's relation to man is changed in Christ from what it otherwise could be, and that therefore man's relation to God is changed. Redemption thus originates with God, who in Christ finds a way through obstacles to the sinner, so that He can righteously forgive and bless. Because God is reconciled in Jesus Christ man repents and begins a new life. The gospel never reverses this order of dependence. It does not say that because man repents God is a forgiving God, but because God is a forgiving God therefore man repents. And it teaches also that God can be a forgiving God, because Christ suffered and died and rose again.

How and why is this true? Why cannot God forgive outright and unconditionally? What is that in the Person and work, and especially

in the death of Christ without which God could not forgive men? What does Christ do to change the feeling or attitude of God towards the sinful race? We no longer ask whether repentance is necessary or not, but only if repentance is not enough; why should there be more and other than the turning away of man from sin and folly to God?

It might be enough to suggest, at this point, that the power and inclination to repent are not found except when God is revealed in Christ; that only because Christ has brought God to men in a new light are they stirred to penitence. But we must search for deeper truth.

There is a movement of thought which has gone beneath or has gone back of the thinking which at one time was satisfied to rest in the sovereignty of God. All commands, penalties, favors, blessings issue, it was once thought, out of the will of God. It was God's will to accept Christ's sufferings as a substitute for the punishment man deserves, and ignorant, wicked man had no right to inquire, Why dost thou thus? But the conviction is now clear that the will of God is directed by the reason of God; that instead of saying it is right because God wills it we should rather say God wills it because it is right. Right and wrong, goodness and badness, holiness and sin, have their own intrinsic quality according to what they are. Righteousness is grounded in reason, is rational. Sin is against reason, is absurd. The consequences of holiness and of sin cannot be set aside by the will of God. His fiat cannot change the right and the reason of things. Therefore He does not punish man merely because He has threatened to punish, but He threatens punishment because it must in the nature of the case inevitably follow on sin. God cannot bless man in his sin; otherwise He would not be God, and sin would not be sin. Distinctions of right and wrong, of true and false, would disappear, and moral chaos would ensue. The opinion that because God is good He will not let his children suffer, but will forgive them and save them, sees only the happiness of man, and has no perception of ethical well-being. What we are now emphasizing is the marked tendency of thought to recognize the intrinsic, necessary character of law and right, and the inevitability of the results of conduct. This necessity was present to Anselm when he formulated the theory that an exact equivalent must be rendered for the penalty of sin; that God must be satisfied completely, and could be satisfied only by the death of Christ, which takes the place of the infinite penalty of sin. His use of the principle was too literal and even mathematical, but he opened a vein of neglected truth. He emphasized the necessity which resides in the ethical being of God, and which even his will cannot contradict nor supersede. The speculative thought of to-day which is farthest removed from the influence of the gospel cannot escape this conclusion. The ethical necessities are recognized. One writer who at the beginning of his book declares his independence of presuppositions on one side or the other comes at length, in his closing chapter, to the conclusion that of necessity eternal perdition awaits those who transgress ethical law,

and that the hand of omnipotence cannot snatch the wicked from their doom.

The clearer recognition of ethical truth, as grounded in law and reason, has been accompanied by important modifications in the view of atonement. It is no longer believed that personal merit and demerit can be transferred from one to another. It is not believed that an exact quantity of punishment can be borne by an innocent for a guilty person. It is not believed that the consequences of sin can be removed from the transgressor by passing them on to another. Conduct, character, and condition are inseparable. The results of sin are part of the ethical personality, and cannot be detached, nor borne by another.

But more than this is to be remarked. Not only have particular theories of atonement which are obviously artificial and unethical been discarded, but atonement itself has been declared impossible. It is thought that there can be no deliverance whatever from the hard consequences of wrong-doing; that whatsoever a man soweth that must he also reap; that Jesus has no other power than that of a teacher who shows men the right way, and summons them to such endeavor after improvement as they may still be capable of making.

Now the message of the gospel unquestionably is that man is not bound under ethical in any such sense as he is bound under physical necessity; that forces are available for the moral and spiritual life by which man can be delivered from the worst consequences of sin, and can become a new creature. Transformation may be rapid and complete. Man may be translated from the dominion of merciless necessity into the life of freedom and love. The new and higher force is the revelation of God in Christ, through which the power of sin is broken and the penalty of sin remitted. If all this is true, the gospel gains a profounder meaning than it has ever yielded before. The church comes now to man, well aware that he cannot be separated from custom, habit, heredity, fixedness of character, the social organism of which he is part. It is seen that redemption must be grounded in reason, and must meet the actual conditions of life and character and society. Atonement must express and reveal God as the supreme Reason and perfect Righteousness, who cannot deny himself, and who cannot disregard nor annul the moral law which is established in truth and right. Christian thought, having established itself on the intrinsic, absolute right and on the inexorableness of law so firmly that these may be accepted as postulates in all the inquiry, agreeing so far forth with Anselm on the one hand and with the latest natural ethics on the other, is going forward now to learn if any ethical ends are secured by the revelation of God in Christ, and secured in such a way that God energizes in man and society for a moral transformation so radical and complete that it may be called salvation, redemption, eternal life, divine sonship.

The New England theology is distinguished among systems of religious thought in this century in that it took up the problem at this stage

and tried to find the truth in this relation. It attempted to discover the ethical *ends* which are secured by the atonement. It emphasized the fact that other methods than punishment can express the character of sin in the sight of God and of the universe. It asked the right question, and gained part of the right answer. It has not held its ground, because it practically exhausted the significance of atonement under the analogy of human governments and courts of justice, which are but one result, and rather a rude result, of the ethical life of man, and also because the approach of the penitent to God in Christ is more direct than it can ever be under the thought of a vast universal system of government. This is the question to-day concerning atonement, — What moral and spiritual ends are secured by the sacrificial life and death of Christ? How does God's attitude towards man change, and man's attitude towards God change, so that there is efficient power for the transformation of ethical and spiritual life as against the tendencies of moral corruption? Evidently the result is of a kind that cannot be brought about by sheer omnipotence, but only, if at all, by truth and love. Thought must move in the spiritual, not in the physical realm.

There are two lines of approach, which converge towards the same result, and both of which are determined by the mediation of Christ in what may properly enough be called his substitutionary relation to men.

One view of atonement is gained by considering the historical Christ in relation to humanity and as identified with it; in which view we see that the race of men with Christ in it is essentially different in fact, and therefore in the sight of God, from the same race without Christ in it. It was found in our study of the Incarnation that Christ's uniqueness is his universality; that while every other man has but a limited relation to his fellows Christ has affinity for all men; that He draws all men unto Him; that He possesses that which all men need. So we have become accustomed to the thought that Christ has an organic relation to the race. He is an individual, but an individual vitally related to every human being. He preferred to be called the Son of Man. Paul sees in Him the Head of humanity, the second Adam. He is one who is not himself a sinner, yet is a man; who is not himself contending against sinful and corrupt tendencies, yet has so identified himself with humanity that its burden of suffering rested on Him, and every man was within his reach of sympathy. His divinity, indeed, is in nothing more clearly shown than in his perfect humanity; in the fact that He was not merely the ideal man, but the universal man; his humanity not something strange to his divinity, but its best and purest organ.

Humanity may thus be thought of as offering something to God of eminent value. When Christ suffers, the race suffers. When Christ is sorrowful, the race is sorrowful. Christ realizes what humanity could not realize for itself. The race may be conceived as approaching God, and signifying its penitence by pointing to Christ, and by giving expression in Him to repentance which no words could utter. Thus we can regard Him

as our substitute, not because He stands apart, not because He is one and the race another, but because He is so intimately identified with us, and because in essential respects the life of every one is, or may be, locked in with his. The representative power which belongs to man in his various relations comes to its perfect realization in Christ. In the family, in government, in business, in society, representative or substitutionary relations are the rule, not the exception. Much more has Christ the power perfectly to represent us or to be substituted for us, because there is no point of our real life where He is not in contact with us. Here is the truth of McLeod Campbell's view of atonement. The entire race repents or is capable of repenting through Christ. It renders in Him a complete repentance. He is the Amen of humanity to the righteousness of God's law, to the ill desert of sin, to the justice of God's judgments. What was dimly shadowed under the old dispensation and in heathen worship, through sacrifices expressing by an act what could not be expressed by a word, is taken up and carried on to perfect realization by the sacrifice and death of Christ, in which humanity offered its best, its holiest, to God. Thus all the figures and phraseology of the altar are properly and naturally applied to Christ. He is offered for our sins, in our stead, for our sakes. He is a propitiation to God. These expressions symbolize a real truth, because Christ was made in all respects like unto his brethren.

But Christ's power to represent or be substituted for man is always to be associated with man's power to repent. The possibility of redeeming man lies in the fact that although he is by act and inheritance a sinner, yet under the appropriate influences he is *capable* of repenting. The power of repentance remains, and to this power the gospel addresses itself. Christ suffering and sympathizing with men is able to awaken in them and express for them a real repentance. It is to this power that Christ, the holy and the merciful, attaches himself. Realizing it in some, and being able to realize it in all, He represents humanity before God. Now the power of repentance, which, so far as it exists, is the power of recuperation, is superior to the necessities of past wrong-doing and of present habit. It is the one fact which can never be estimated for what it may do, which baffles the calculation of the wisest observers. The penitent man, so far as he really repents, is in the exercise of a freedom which resists and almost subjugates the forces of evil. In union with Christ, who brings spiritual truth and power to man, repentance is radical. Man left to himself cannot have a repentance which sets him free from sin and death. But in Christ he is moved to repentance which is revolutionary; in Christ he can express repentance, for in union with Christ he has the feeling of Christ concerning sin against the God of love. If man unaided could become truly repentant, he would become holy, and would be the child of God. This was admitted by Jonathan Edwards. But it is only in Christ that he has such knowledge of God and of himself as is necessary to a repentance which is revolutionary. It is not true, we admit and insist, that repentance without Christ is avail-

ing for redemption, for man of himself cannot repent ; but, on the other hand, it is not true that Christ's atonement has value without repentance. Christ's sacrifice avails with God because it is adapted to bring man to repentance. This gives it ethical meaning and value. He is one, in with the race, who has the power of bringing it into sympathy with his own feeling towards God and towards sin ; and so God looks on the race as having this power in Christ, a power which, when realized, melts away the iron fetters of necessity and fate. The significance of the gospel on this side is that the sacrifice of Christ is not in vain ; that on account of Christ man can be delivered from condemnation, and can have God's smile instead of his frown ; that the captive of nature and law can go free as a penitent, restored child of God, through the love of Him who is the Son of God and the Son of Man.

The substitution is not of Christ standing on this side for the race standing on that side, but the race with Christ in it is substituted for the race without Christ in it. This Christ in with the race is regarded by God as one who has those powers of instruction, sympathy, purity, which can be imparted to his brethren. Likewise the individual in Christ takes the place of the individual without Christ, is looked on as one whom Christ can bring to repentance and obedience, and so is justified even before faith develops into character. All is not accomplished instantly, but the result was assured when Christ became obedient to the death of the cross. He saw Satan falling from heaven when as yet his disciples had made but a beginning of the subjugation of evil.

The race is reconstituted in Christ, and is other in the sight of God, because different in fact, because containing powers for repentance and holiness which, without Christ, it would be hopelessly destitute of.

The other line of approach is from God to man. The punishment and consequences of sin make real God's abhorrence of sin, and the righteousness of law. The sufferings and death of his only Son also realize God's hatred of sin, and the righteous authority of law ; therefore punishment need not be exacted. This is a familiar line of reflection, and need not be followed in detail. Its meaning is that God cannot be regardless of law nor indifferent to sin in saving man from punishment. If the thought went no further, this, at least, would be implied : that our redemption is not the act of omnipotence, but that it is in accordance with the rational and ethical being both of God and man.

It must be confessed, however, that it is not clear how the sufferings and death of Christ can be substituted for the punishment of sin ; how, because Christ made vivid the wickedness of sin and the righteousness of God, man is therefore any the less exposed to the consequences of sin. We must go on to the fact that Christ makes real very much more than God's righteous indignation against sin. The punishment of sin does not save men. It only vindicates God and his law. Christ, while declaring God's righteousness, reveals God seeking men, and at the cost of sacrifice. He shows that God loves men, and energizes in Christ to bring

them to himself ; that really the wrath of God is only a manifestation of the love of God, since God cannot allow the sinner to be blessed in his sin. The very fact, that God's Son cannot be among men for their redemption except at the cost of suffering from the sin of man and of dying at their hands, shows both the intrinsic badness of sin and the undiscouraged love of God to sinners. What really occurs is the approach of God to men in Christ, who shows by his words and life the Father unto them ; who draws them back to God in recoil from sin, and whose suffering, by reason of sin, condemned sin more unmistakably than the punishment of it could have done.

Sin is to be looked on not only as an obstacle which keeps man from coming to God, but also as an obstacle which keeps God from coming to man. God loves man, and would bless him. But sin impedes God's love, sets it back, awakens God's disapproval, so that instead of blessing he must condemn and punish. The ideal relation of God is love, but the actual relation is wrath. The sin of man prevents God's love from flowing forth, so that the God of love is in reality hostile to man. In Christ God can come to man in another relation, because Christ is a new divine power in the race to turn it away from sin unto God.

God does not become propitious because man repents and amends, for that is beyond man's power. He becomes propitious because Christ, laying down his life, makes the race to its worst individual *capable* of repenting, obeying, trusting ; and he does this in such a way that God's abhorrence to sin is realized, the majesty of law honored, the sinner and the universe convinced of the righteousness of the divine judgments.

The first and the greatest punishment of sin is separation from God, the withdrawal of those influences from God by which man is blessed. The consequences of sin in body and character are secondary, are only results of separation from God. It is because God is far away that such consequences follow. In Christ, the lowly, the suffering, the triumphant, God can come near to man to bless him. Christ brings God the Person to man the person, and in such manner that God is known as the God of holy love, the loving and holy Father. The goodness of God leads man to repentance. Man is at peace with God, and the worst punishment of sin is righteously removed.

It is true, then, that Christ suffered for our sins, and that because He suffered our sins are forgiven. But the suffering was borne because it lay in the path to redemption. The realization of God's love in Christ was possible only through the suffering and death of Christ ; and because He suffered and died in bringing the knowledge and love of God to men it is no longer necessary that men should suffer all the consequences of sin. The ethical ends of punishment are more than realized in the pain and death of the Redeemer, through whom man is brought to repentance. His death is a new fact, an astonishing, revealing, persuasive, melting fact, in view of which it would be puerile to exact literal punishment of those who are thereby made sorry for sin and brought in penitence to

God. But it is all inseparable from repentance or appropriation. There is thus a limit to the vicarious principle. It is limited in its application by the personal relation of every man to Christ. He who is not moved to penitence and faith by Christ is under a greater condemnation. If he is incorrigible the condemnation is final and irreversible.

The large truth of atonement, however illustrated, and from whatever side approached, is that *except for Christ* God could only punish sinners by withdrawing himself more and more from them ; that in Christ their repentance and renewal become possible and God can bring them to their true destination. The race is other to God than it could be without Christ, and God is other to the race than He could be without Christ. That is, Christ is the Mediator between God and man. Starting from the human side we may say that God is the reconciled God, the forgiving God, because man in Christ, seeing God as He is, and sin as it is, is the penitent man, the believing man, the Christian man. Or reversing the order and advancing to the ultimate fact that redemption originates with God, we may say that man is the penitent and obedient man because God in Christ is the reconciling and forgiving God. In any thought of atonement and redemption we may not lose sight of Christ's vital relation either with God or man. His work is one of reconciliation, of mediation. But the work originates with God. Man could never have produced the Christ. God so loved the world that He gave his Son. It is therefore the final fact that God is reconciled to man, and therefore man is reconciled to God.

It is not to be supposed, however, that God has been reconciled to the world only eighteen hundred years ; that before Christ came He was the God of justice and since then has been the God of mercy. Strictly speaking, there was never a time when God was not reconciled, not having been before, for the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world. It was in the divine purpose from eternity that there should be incarnation and atonement. But as manifested or realized in time, from our point of view, God's disposition was changed when Christ suffered and died. At least, the manifestation of God's grace waited for the manifestation of Christ and depended on it. Therefore we can say "before" and "after" in relation to redemption through Christ. But considered either as historically manifested, or as eternally purposed, it is true that but for Christ God would be forever alienated from men. It is on account of Christ that God can forgive, on account of Christ that men are not left helpless and condemned under the necessities of unchangeable law. Humanity with Christ in it is propitiated to the divine thought from all eternity. Not till the propitiation is realized do we know that a sufficient reason exists to make it right and possible for God to forgive sin. To the world before Christ came God was unreconciled, because the world had no knowledge of him in Christ. To the individual, so long as he knows God only on the side of nature and law, God is

unreconciled. Not till he sees Christ in his sacrificial love does he know that God can and will forgive. The actual sufferings and death of Christ in history are not, however, a mere seeming. A realized is not the same as an unrealized purpose. The sacrifice of Christ on earth has a real value, and is not fully operative until it is an accomplished fact. The complete truth is that the sacrifice of Christ is an indispensable condition of the forgiveness of sin.

It may be said, then, in view of our discussion, that the present movement of thought seeks to find the union of objective and subjective elements. At certain periods the sacrifice of Christ and its results towards God were looked on as external to men, and almost independent of them. There was a definite reality which could be measured and set off by itself. At other periods the results in experience and faith have been more prominent. The Atonement has been thought of as an influence working in man, and as having no reality or meaning apart from that. The mutual relation of the great reality of reconciliation and the appropriation of faith is coming to be more clearly recognized. God in Christ, and Christ in man. "I in them and Thou in me, that they may be perfected into one."

It may be thought that the battle was long ago decided concerning the extent of atonement, that the Atonement is generally believed to be universal in extent, not for the elect alone, but for the whole world, and that no one questions it. But all that is involved in its universality has not been accepted. Can it be considered universal if a large portion of the race know nothing of the historical Christ and the redemption that is in Him? The extent of atonement resides not so much, it is to be remembered, in the thing done, in the ample provision made, but rather in the personality of Christ. He is the universal Person, as we said at the outset. His religion, therefore, is the universal, absolute religion. There is no salvation in any other. He alone is able to bring God and man together. This would seem to lead us to the conclusion that the final word concerning destiny is not pronounced for any man till he knows Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Further consideration of this inference will be deferred till the next article of the series on eschatology. It is mentioned now as bearing on the relation of the divine justice to the divine mercy. The view has been taken that justice condemns the sinner to death before or until atonement is made, and that Christ rescues the sinner from his just doom. It has been said, therefore, that God *must* be just, and *may* be merciful, as if the exercise of mercy were not necessary to God in any such sense as justice is necessary. But we must now conclude that justice does not pronounce its final word till God has revealed himself in all his intended manifestations of righteousness and love. Justice is concerned that every attribute of God ~~should~~ be displayed; is as jealous for the rights of love as for those of holiness. If it is God's very nature to love, if it is a desire of his to save men from sin, justice sees to it that love is not deprived of its rights, and is not hin-

dered in any of its impulses. We may go so far as to say, that it would not be just for God to condemn men hopelessly when they have not known Him as He really is, when they have not known Him in Jesus Christ. And it is evidently the intent of God that all men should know Him through Christ. The judgment does not come till the gospel has been preached to all nations. The gospel is preached to a nation, not when within certain geographical boundaries it has been proclaimed at scattered points, but only when in reality all individuals of all the nations have known it.

Atonement, that is, the gospel, is universal, absolute. It is to be made known to every creature, and then cometh the end. To suppose that such knowledge of God as reason and conscience give is, in reality, the knowledge of God in Christ, is to reduce the historical Christ and atonement through his sacrifice to an accidental, precarious position. There is no evidence whatever that the race is divided into two great sections, one of which is dealt with on the basis of the gospel, and the other on the basis of law and natural conscience — one on a basis of justice, the other on a basis of grace. As, before Christ came, God exercised forbearance for the sins of the past and because Christ was coming, but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent, so ultimately all the nations and all the generations are to be dealt with through Him who tasted death for every man. This is admitted in principle, but denied in fact, by those who assume that salvation is possible only through Christ, but believe that the power of the gospel is felt by those and may be availing for those who know nothing about it. This reduces God's dealings with men to magic, and makes the cross superfluous. It is no longer a necessity that Christ should have suffered and died. The Atonement is only a slightly more vivid exhibition of that love and grace which are really open to all men apart from the sacrifice of Christ.

It is the function of the Holy Spirit to take the things of Christ, and show them unto men. So far as we know, the Holy Spirit does not regenerate men except through the knowledge, motive, and power of the gospel. The Holy Spirit could not be given in his fullness, because Jesus was not yet glorified. Until Jesus had completed his work and ascended into heaven, the Holy Spirit could not come unto men. The dispensation of the Spirit follows and assumes the accomplished work of the historical Christ. All this means that the supreme, final, absolute revelation of God to men is in the Person and work of Jesus Christ; that, therefore, justice does not pronounce the word of destiny till love and mercy have gone forth to all those children who are partakers of the same flesh and blood of which He took part. If no man cometh to the Father but by Christ, we conclude that without Him, — and almost as certainly we conclude that without the knowledge of Him, — no man can be brought back to God. Whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How, then, shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed, and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?

In the Atonement Christ the Son of man brings all humanity to God. No member of the race is separate from him who thus offers himself.

In the Atonement God provided redemption for the world by realizing his holy love in the eyes of all the nations.

The ultimate fact for every man will be his relation to Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and who in all things was made like unto his brethren.

#### CHRISTIAN UNION AND THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

THE criticism has been passed upon the American Congress of Churches that it was not a representative body. In a technical sense the criticism is true. The Congress did not call for delegates. So far as possible it avoided the functions of a delegate body. The precaution was taken to guard against a vote upon any theological or ecclesiastical question. The entire and exclusive object of the Congress was stated in the following terms: "The American Congress of Churches has for its object to promote Christian union, and to advance the kingdom of God by a free discussion of the great religious, moral, and social questions of the time. This council has no intention of establishing a society, or organizing a plan of union, or putting forth a creed. It simply aims, by holding public meetings from time to time, to make provision for a full and frank discussion of the great subjects in which the Christians of America are interested, including those ecclesiastical and theological questions upon which Christians differ." But while the Congress refused to assume the form or the functions of a representative assembly, it was, in a very real sense, representative in its character. A constituency of no mean proportions lay behind it. For there are in all of the churches those to whom the thought of Christian union is more than a pleasing idea or hope. It exists in their minds as a growing purpose, and craves tangible expression.

First among these in downright earnestness, though least in numbers, are such as have experienced the positive evils of a divided Christendom. They have been in position to see the disadvantage to Christianity of working through its various and often conflicting sects upon the stolid ranks of heathenism; they have felt, it may be, the helplessness of Protestantism in its endeavor to impress the mind of peoples awed by the haughty unity of Rome; they have been exposed to the taunts of skepticism flung into the face of a divided and contentious church. To men of such experiences division is not an evil, it is a sin. The duty of the church is not adjustment but repentance. Ask them how the desired unity is to be gained, they answer that method waits upon conviction. Let the church humble itself in the sense of its sin, and Providence will point out the way to practical results. Next to these are such as have had occasion to feel the limitations or narrowness of their own denominations. Somewhere the denomination binds and pinches the individual,

and yet as among the denominations he prefers his own. But it no longer satisfies him. He may not demand liberty; he does crave sympathy. Hence the significance in its denominational aspect of any theological or spiritual movement which runs through all the denominations. Its inevitable effect is to break up old associations, and to create new sympathies. It gives contact in first things to those who have been separated by what is secondary. And beyond these are all such as have accustomed themselves to think and act in the large terms of Christianity rather than in the dialect of the sects. "I teach," said an accomplished teacher, of some years ago, in a Congregational seminary, "that Congregationalism is a transient form of Puritanism, that Puritanism is a transient form of Protestantism; that Protestantism is a transient form of Christianity." It must be recognized that there are times when the permanent lives in the transient: when Christianity lived in Protestantism, when Protestantism lived in Puritanism. It is the art of all theological and ecclesiastical thinking to know when, and to what extent, the permanent inhabits the transient; to know when Christianity ought to be generalized, when it ought to be specialized. The tendency, of course, is toward unnecessary specialization. And the minds which are trained to resist this tendency are at once available for all the practical uses of Christian union.

A movement, therefore, like that of the American Congress of Churches, expressive of Christian union, has a natural constituency. The idea, the moral purpose, is representative. The movement itself may be subject to criticism. Some may say that it is too inclusive, others that it is indefinite. But the fact remains that there is a growing sentiment in favor of unity,—a sentiment growing in earnestness and assurance as well as in the number of those who cherish it. True, the union of Christians in the interchange of religious opinion, or even in coöperation for philanthropic and benevolent purposes, is not in itself the unity of the church. But it is indicative of progress toward that end, and each new development of the spirit of union among Christians serves to call attention to the influences which are silently but widely at work toward some real and substantial unity of the church.

Let us take note of a few of these influences. It is a noteworthy fact that theological controversy has been transferred from purely denominational issues to issues within the denominations. Each denomination has its schools of thought, between which the divergence is probably greater than between the denomination itself and any other within the range of the evangelical faith. Denominationalism, as such, is no longer responsible for theological differences. The denominations which insist most strongly upon doctrine have already practically conceded as much as can be fairly asked of them in the interest of unity. When the ministry can take the range of the sects, passing, with little modification of belief, from one to another, it can no longer be claimed that doctrinal tests are divisive. Ecclesiastical tests still remain in formidable activity, but the

abatement of ecclesiastical claims on the part of some in positions of authority and influence is equally noticeable with the fact in respect to theological controversy, to which attention has been called. It certainly marked an era in the discussion of ecclesiasticism when Canon Lightfoot — now Bishop of Durham — wrote in these words concerning the episcopate : “ If bishop was at first used as a synonym for presbyter, and afterwards came to designate the higher officer under whom the presbyters served, the episcopate, properly so called, would seem to have been developed from the subordinate office. In other words, the episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral, by elevation ; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them.”<sup>1</sup> And the present spirit of the more thoughtful churchman in other denominations finds expression in the recent words of Dr. Morris on Presbyterianism. “ Presbyterianism, *Jure divino*, a system directly prescribed and enjoined, as to details, in the New Testament, can no more be proven than a *Jure divino* prelacy or independency. The attempt to find in the Bible a full, exact, invariable mode of government, adjusted to the needs of the church in all varieties of condition, and so enjoined upon it that all departures or deviations become unscriptural and schismatical, has often been made in the interest of each of the three Protestant varieties of church polity, but has always been made in vain.”<sup>2</sup>

Side by side with this change of theological attitude and this abatement of ecclesiastical claims we may discover in all the denominations a growing sense of the meaning and worth of the historic church. The church idea is gaining a place in the denominations which have heretofore shown the least consideration for it. The change may be seen in the revival of the spirit of worship, through the recovery of the older and more consistent forms, in the use of architectural designs which embody the traditions of the church, and in the increasing respect and reverence for the various symbols of the church. The denominations which began in protest against the corruptions of the church of their time are returning to claim their rightful possessions in historic Christianity. A protesting church is one thing ; a provincial church is quite another thing. When the occasion for the protest has passed away, or when its object has been gained, it is folly for the protesting body to perpetuate itself along the narrow lines of the original departure. The Methodism of to-day is more than a revulsion from the formalism and naturalism of the religious life of the eighteenth century. New England Congregationalism has a larger work before it than the maintenance of the formal and ecclesiastical idea of Puritanism. The natural growth and expansion of any part of the church is always toward, not away from, the church itself. By the very law of their being and growth the denominations become more and more in the church and of the church. The things held in common

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot on *Epistle of Paul to the Philippians*. Appendix, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Morris’s *Ecclesiology*, page 134.

come to outweigh the things held apart. Progress toward unity is necessary, because natural.

The strongest influence at work in the interest of unity is to be found in the active relation of Christianity to the world. Apparently the work of the church rests upon denominationalism. The organizations which express Christian energy and enthusiasm are, for the most part, denominational agencies. Probably this state of things will continue indefinitely. For organizations have a reason in themselves. The spiritual agencies of the church must be manageable. They must have a specific object. And they must appeal for support to a natural constituency. It was found necessary to resolve the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions into its constituent parts, in order to the most successful development of the different denominations represented. But organizations which have a sufficient reason in themselves, if they are not put into relations of mere competition with each other, are not necessarily divisive. A fence may be set up for separation. It may be set up for convenience. Organizations are to be allowed and supported according to the scope of their purpose, and according to their respect for the rights of kindred bodies. But the relations of an aggressive Christianity to the world are found to be much wider and more complicated than had been foreseen. Practically, the different denominations have holdings in heathen countries not unlike the territorial possessions of the European states. The time must come when these denominational colonies will cease to be dependencies. Nationality and race will assert themselves. It will at some time be as natural to speak of the Church of India, or of Japan, as of the American Church. And whenever these new factors of race and nationality come to the front, the smaller and more divisive factors will naturally be retired. We can hardly suppose that the Christianity of the East is to be run into the moulds of Western organization. It cannot be doubted that the reflex influence of missionary results will be conducive to unity, as the development of missionary activities has thus far increased the number of separate organizations.

Undue expectations as to the formal unity of the church may be cherished. But the tendencies toward a unity, real and substantial, cannot be overlooked. Forces are in operation, under the work of the Spirit of God, which the providence of God may at an unexpected time use with mighty effect to the unity of the church.

#### ENGLAND'S INJUSTICE TO MR. GLADSTONE.

ENGLAND's wisest and ripest statesman, the most versatile and high-minded in the long line of her public servants, the one of them all who has made the largest and most beneficent contribution to her legislation, stands discredited before the world. The Parliament which supported him five years ago by a majority unprecedented in recent English history

has pronounced the cabinet of which he was the acknowledged head unfit to govern, and transferred sovereignty to other hands.

That this act will quickly appear to be a boon to the party which he has so long led, and to the measures with which his later years are identified, we confidently believe. The Irishman who has helped the Conservative leader into the saddle has no disposition to give him the reins, and is abundantly able to keep them from his reach. A coercion bill will not be passed through Parnell's help, and cannot be passed without it unless it be so mild as to stultify its authors. And even if Whigs should pass it, it could accomplish nothing before the autumn election likely to win the constituencies. Nor can the Conservatives gain glory abroad this summer. They dare not try to penetrate the Soudan, and the negotiations with Russia are too near completion to be broken off. Meantime the Liberals can compose their differences, arrange their plans for the fall campaign, and criticize the mistakes of their opponents. The cheerfulness with which they take defeat is easily understood, and the bitterness with which their opponents accuse them of securing defeat by trickery.

But whatever is to be the outcome of the overthrow of the government it stands as a humiliation. The Liberal party has not kept its fealty to its great leader. A considerable part of it has declared itself willing to see power taken from his hands and transferred to men bitterly antagonistic to Mr. Gladstone and his principles.

So far as this severe censure is due to Whig dissatisfaction with Mr. Gladstone's government of Ireland no fault can be found with it, however it may be regretted. The differences which parted the Duke of Argyle, perhaps Mr. Forster, and those for whom they stand, from the late cabinet were differences of principle. The Land Act was a new and a long step in English legislation. It sanctioned a different view of the relation between landlord and tenant, both in England and in Ireland, from that which had prevailed. The Duke of Argyle, in calling this view revolutionary, and withdrawing from the cabinet on this ground, was only maintaining convictions which he had always held. Mr. Forster may have been following principle in insisting that Ireland should be clutched in a more crushing grasp, and that the government was encouraging treason in its leniency toward Mr. Parnell. Loss of support on these grounds was sure to follow such thorough remedies as the government proposed for Irish discontent. Doubtless Mr. Gladstone expected it at the outset, and met it most cheerfully when it came. It was only one of the obstacles on the road to his large ends, and so it stood as a milestone marking his progress.

But this defection, serious as it was, and the Parnellite hostility, which was purely factious, and without moral significance, left the Government still strong. The Land Bill was carried by an ample majority. Parliament sustained Mr. Gladstone's doctrine that tenancy gives some claim on the landlord; that the latter's right to evict is not absolutely unlim-

ited; and the Government moved on. But for troubles of another kind Mr. Gladstone would doubtless have remained Premier as long as the late Parliament existed. These were the difficulties in Egypt, the revolt of Arabi Bey, the suppression of which by England involved substitution of English power for the joint protectorate held since 1879 by England and France, and a sort of responsibility for the acts of the Khedive and his cabinet. This responsibility gave the Conservatives plausible ground for charging the misfortunes of the Egyptian armies led by English officers upon the government. It gave them and the Jingo Liberals pretext for demanding that Gordon should be sent to bring the Egyptian garrisons out of the Soudan. Of course, when the government had (wisely or unwisely) acceded to the request, it became responsible for Gordon's safety. After Gordon had been killed, and many lives had been lost and much money spent in the vain attempt to rescue him, and Egypt was still crushed with debt, and England entangled in responsibility for its government and weighted by its own interest in the Suez canal, and France and Germany (as is alleged) alienated by Mr. Gladstone's action, the Tories said, "A feeble, inconsistent, unworthy government! Let it be ignominiously overthrown!" One at least of the Liberal papers was weak enough to echo the cry. The staunch Liberal journals showed, in their half-apologetic replies, that their confidence in the ability of the Government was shaken. Successive divisions in the House of Commons made it evident that Mr. Goschen's example in abandoning the government on account of its Egyptian policy had many followers. At last, on a question of taxation, in which the government was clearly right (in this field Mr. Gladstone's supremacy is scarcely questioned), the seceders, with the Parnellites, were able to overthrow the Government, and the last and crowning administration of England's greatest statesman ended with condemnation.

We believe this to be discreditable to England. "They are not all Israel who are of Israel." We do not mean the England represented by Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill,—the England which stands as the embodiment of selfish and insolent privilege at home and of bluster abroad. It is to be expected that this part of the nation should hate the man once its favorite,—who left its service because too noble to share its selfishness, and who has given his long life and great abilities to undoing, in some measure, the ancient wrongs on which it thrives,—though a stranger cannot but marvel at the bitterness and the coarse expression of its hatred, passing the bounds of decorum, not to say of patriotism.

But it is not this party which has condemned Mr. Gladstone; it is his own. "For it was not an enemy that reproached me: then I could have borne it; neither was it he that hated me that did magnify himself against me." The Liberal party, in its parliamentary representatives, has involved itself in the condemnation of Mr. Gladstone because of the alleged incompetency of his foreign policy. Europe sees in him a fallen

statesman, who has lost, in no small measure, his influence with liberal England.

And why have confidence and power been taken away? Because there have been disasters in Egypt, and Bismarck is gruff, and France testy. But, to begin with the last charges, is it the duty of an English statesman to keep Bismarck in good humor towards England? Is it not possible that the German chancellor's intense and avowed dislike of parliamentary government may be the cause of his ill-humor towards a nation governed by the ablest living exemplar of the parliamentary spirit? And may it not be that France has become sullen because her desire to meddle and encroach, of late so strong, has been checked? "But a statesman must get on with other nations by humoring their weaknesses if need be." Unless some specific instance of defective tact or courtesy can be shown, it is idle to try thus to justify a great statesman's overthrow.

But, it is claimed, Mr. Gladstone either should not have laid his hand upon Egypt, or should have assumed the full control of Egyptian affairs. This is easily said. But did he not, when he assumed power, find England committed to the joint control and to the bondholders? Did not the nation which had put twenty million of dollars into the Suez canal expect that England's rights in that canal would be guarded, if need were, by the sword? And when Arabi's army defied the Khedive and England, could he do otherwise than sweep away the insurrection, so maintaining the rights and pledges which he found existing? Had he not done this would he not have been at once deposed as untrue to the nation's interests? But did not his principles and promises forbid him to commit England to a permanent protectorate? Were not her responsibilities already great enough? Surely it was to be expected that Mr. Gladstone would rigorously abstain from committing the nation to abiding control of that unhappy state. To say that because he did so abstain he was responsible for the blunders of the Khedive, that the result of the expedition under Hicks is chargeable to him (it was undertaken against his protest), is absurd.

"But the government sent Gordon to the Soudan, and left him to die." It sent Gordon to withdraw the garrisons. He chose to undertake a different task when he reached Khartoum. This self-chosen undertaking detained him against the wishes of the government. Then he became beleaguered. The government sent an army to rescue him. Before it reached him he fell by treachery. But for the treachery he would have been saved. The exposure to treachery was involved in his mission from the beginning. It was a part of the risk which he took in undertaking it. The government is, therefore, only responsible for his death in so far as it was unwise in sending him out. That it was mistaken in doing this we admit. That it committed no mistakes in Egypt we by no means claim. But we do insist that the charges of weakness and culpable negligence so freely made are not sustained. We hold, with a writer in the

"Nineteenth Century" of the present month, that a government under circumstances so trying must be judged according to its opportunities and manifest intention; that if it be loyal to its pledges and inherited obligations, and free from timidity and dilatoriness, it should receive a large measure of allowance when overtaken with misfortune. That such allowance would have given Mr. Gladstone's government power until the time set for submitting its acts to a popular verdict we firmly believe.

The real cause of the late defeat we believe to be that which had so much influence in defeating Mr. Gladstone at the general election of 1874—wounded national pride. The result of the Geneva arbitration was painful to English self-esteem, and the righteous and peace-loving Premier suffered in consequence. It is sorely hurt to-day by the death of Gordon and the rudeness of Bismarck, and again he is made the scapegoat. Many of those responsible for the earlier injustice must now see and regret their error. It will not, we trust, be ten years before the later and more violent displeasure will be more deeply regretted.

Perhaps it will be seen that the requirements which England makes of her Premier in the conduct of her foreign affairs are absurdly contradictory; that she expects him to guard her complicated interests, avoid imbroglio with foreign powers, maintain economy, and at the same time give her the opportunity now and then of playing a dazzling part in the family of nations.

Sooner or later it will appear that the training and moral qualities which make a great constitutional minister and a guardian of the nation's thrift and trade are inconsistent with this showy conduct of affairs, and England, Liberal England at least, will appreciate the great statesman whose sun shines with undimmed and level rays from the western horizon.

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## BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

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### SUGGESTIONS ON THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MESSIANIC HOPE.

It must be borne in mind that nowhere in the Old Testament is "Messiah" the technical term which it became in the post-Maccabean, scribal period of Jewish history. In Leviticus it is applied to the High Priest, in the historical books to Saul, to David, to the patriarchs, in Lamentations to king Zedekiah, in Habakkuk to the people of Israel as a whole, in the Psalms to Kings of the Davidic dynasty (and perhaps also to Israelitish kings) indiscriminately, in Deutero-Isaiah to Cyrus, and in the book of Daniel both to Cyrus and to one of the Seleucids. This variety of use of the word in the Old Testament corresponds in some degree to the variety of simple Messianic motives ultimately combined in the grand, many-sided harmony of the Messianic hope realized. In general the word "Messiah" of the Hebrew text has been translated "anointed"

in our Bible,<sup>1</sup> but in Dan. ix. 25, 26, where the word is used once in reference to Cyrus and once in reference to a Seleucid, the Hebrew "Messiah" is retained.

The Messianic passages of the Old Testament stand in no necessary connection with the use of the word "Messiah." Broadly speaking, those passages are Messianic which promise a delivery from present distress, either through the direct intervention of Jehovah, the God and king of Israel, or through a Davidic sovereign (or David himself), the vicegerent of Jehovah and the representative of his divinity upon earth, or through a human agent, outside of the Davidic dynasty, anointed by Jehovah for that purpose; those passages are Messianic which foretell a millennial kingdom over which Jehovah will reign either mediately or immediately, or which describe the preparation for this millennial kingdom through a Davidic sovereign, or through the people of Israel as especially appointed to that mission by Jehovah; those passages are Messianic which describe the experiences of the ideally perfect "Servant of Jehovah."

The prophetic concept of the relation of God, as Jehovah, to Israel, inherited from Moses, was that of the direct government by God of his people. Moses did not unify the people into a nation, because of his conception of a theocratic empire. God must directly rule over his people. It is precisely the same religious concept which seems to have placed Samuel in opposition to, or at least out of harmony with, the kingly idea. This concept was ideal, impracticable, as the history of Israel proved, but it contained a fruitful germ of heavenward progress, which was the divine essence of the Mosaic concept. After the practical needs of their situation had forced upon the Hebrews centralization and regal authority, the prophets still adhered to this Mosaic concept, modified and further idealized by the new conditions. It is this which enables them steadfastly to look forward to the Messianic kingdom of God's rule upon earth. But, in order that a conception so ideal and exalted might be effective for the education and development of the people at large, it must operate upon lower and more worldly sentiments. The lower instrument through which it was to act was found in the royal form of government, or perhaps we might say in the person of one of the kings of Israel.

Any one who has considered those Messianic passages which are concerned with a personal, human Messiah must, I think, have observed this phenomenon, — that this phase of the Messianic hope emanates from the person of David. He is the great Messiah of God in the past to whom the people longingly look back. It is his glory, like the glory of the Roman Cæsar, which in each new age is reflected over his descendants. It is a return of the Davidic greatness which is looked for in the future. An idealized David is the type of the royal human Messiah. In seeking a human basis for the Messianic hope, we must begin here. That basis is one common to the Israelites with other people. It is that longing for the glory of the past, which is driven by the utter lack of its realization in the present first into hope, and then into belief, in its restoration in the future. The British belief in the return of an Arthur, or the German hope of the reappearance of Charlemagne or Friedrich Barbarossa, were in origin the same as the Israelitish expectation of the second David, — a longing for the glory of the past, metamorphosed, through much meditation on its happiness, in time of present distress into the hope of its restoration in the future. Any one who has studied, with any sort of appre-

<sup>1</sup> Corrected in the Canterbury Revision.

ciation, popular belief in myths and legends, realizes that such a belief as this is neither quite literal nor altogether ideal. It connects itself literally with the name, the place, the family of David, and yet what it looks for is not David, but the kingdom and glory of David; so that at times it even seems ready, under peculiar circumstances, to lose its hold on the Davidic personality, and to look for the royal deliverer in a Cyrus or a Maccabaeus. It is the popular mind, in distinction from the thoughtful leaders, to which the Davidic idea is most essential; which connects its hopes most closely with a literal descendant of David in whom he shall be repersonified in all his ideal glory. Of course this hope of a Davidic Messiah who shall restore the Davidic glory must result in the idealization of its hero in the past as well as the future, and hence we have the phenomenon of a double David in the Bible — the historical, actual David, and the mythical, ideal David. This idealization the prophets make a fulcrum for their lever, their function being to lift the Messianic hope of a second kingdom of David into spiritual realms. The part which this Davidic hope played in moulding the history and character of the Jewish people and maintaining their nationality intact was enormous. The strength of that hope in Old Testament times is evidenced by psalmody and prophecy, and in a later age both by the apocalyptic literature which it called forth and by the insurrections to which it gave rise. Even the hatred which the oppression, immorality, and idolatry of Solomon and his son aroused in the hearts of the Israelites of the northern kingdom did not quench the pride in David and his glory, so that Amos could say to them (ix. 11): "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old;" while Hosea, one of their own number, prophesies (iii. 4, 5) "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim: Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek Jehovah their God, and David their king; and shall fear Jehovah and his goodness in the latter days."

Psychologically we are led to expect from the origin and nature of this hope that which we also find to be true regarding it, — that it is most vividly pictured in the times of greatest distress. Passing over such passages as 2 Sam. vii. 16, where David is told: "Thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee: thy throne shall be set up forever," and the numerous similar passages in the Psalms concerning the glory and perpetuity of his kingdom, let us take up the still more minute and definite passages in the prophets; as when Isaiah, crying out of the deepest humiliation of the kingdom of Judah, yet promises the people deliverance at the hand of a Davidic ruler, who shall restore a spiritualized kingdom of David. Such is that famous prophecy (ix. 1-7) which ends: "For increase of the government and for peace without end upon David's throne and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to order it with judgment and with righteousness from henceforth and forever. The zeal of Jehovah Zebaoth will perform this;" or that prophecy which begins (xi. 1): "And there cometh forth a rod from Jesse's stem, and a branch groweth from his roots." Micah sees in the sore misery of Jerusalem the deep darkness that heralds the glorious morn. The woes of Judah are the birth-pangs of the Messiah. The nation sinks so low that she is even led forth out of Jerusalem; but this exile is the pangs of travail with the

glorious future. The capital may be lost, "but thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings out have been from of old, from everlasting;" which is a distinctively Davidic prophecy, although by a poetic device the name of David is not mentioned. The rise of a better king, Hezekiah, renders Isaiah's later Messianic prophecies less definite and personal, and he even seems half ready to accept Hezekiah himself as the restorer of the Davidic kingdom. Again, under a bad king, in times of great distress, Jeremiah (xxxii. 9) foretells a righteous branch to David, and (xxx. 9) that the people freed from bondage shall serve "David their king." In the time of the exile Ezekiel is almost prosaic in the literalness with which he uses the Davidic personality, as where he says (xxxiv. 23): "And I will set over them one shepherd, and he shall herd them, even my servant David, he shall herd them, and he shall be to them a shepherd;" or (xxxvii. 24, 25): "And my servant David king over them, for one shepherd shall be for them all, and in my religion shall they walk, and my statutes shall they hear and do them; and they shall dwell in the land which I gave to my servant, to Jacob, in which their fathers dwelt, yea they shall dwell in it, they, and their sons, and their sons' sons forever, and David my servant prince over them forever."

After the exile Haggai sees in Zerubbabel, as the descendant of David, him who is to fulfill the hope of a Davidic restoration, and the book of his prophecies closes with a distinct expression of that view (ii. 23): "In that day, saith Jehovah Zebaoth, will I take thee, Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, my servant, saith Jehovah, and will make thee as a signet, for thee have I chosen, saith Jehovah Zebaoth." Zechariah seems at first to entertain the same hope (iv.), but Zerubbabel is not the man to restore Davidic glory; he can only shine in the borrowed lustre of his ancestors. Then Joshua, the High Priest, is declared to be the Branch (vi. 12), and you have the same combination of priest and king in the Messianic concept which appears in Ps. cx. Joshua, the Branch, is placed upon a theocratic throne (vi. 13). It is the failure of the worthless successors of David to fulfill the expectation of the people which causes the Davidic element to vanish for a time, supplanted by the priestly.

It must not be supposed, however, that the people altogether abandoned their idea of a Davidic restoration. Events show that it still lingered on. The history of the people to the time of the Maccabean revolt is one of insignificance and failure, but not oppression, and we find, accordingly, no vivid expression of the expectation of a personal, Davidic Messiah. The line of David has sunk into obscurity and oblivion. Malachi speaks only of a millennial kingdom, and of Elijah as the herald of its coming. After the story of the assumption of Elijah into heaven (2 Kings ii. 11) it seemed a moral certainty that a belief in his return would spring up. The book of Malachi contains the first definite expression of this belief, which plays so important a part in the Christological scheme of the Pharisees. The Seleucid oppression and the Maccabean revolt again fanned into a flame the smouldering fires of the Messianic hope in the restoration of national greatness, as is proven as well from the history of the period as from the book of Daniel. The lack of a prominent representative or descendant of David prevents the author of Daniel from representing the new kingdom as Davidic. It is pictured

as an earthly rule of Jehovah through an undesignated semi-divine hero, under whom the saints shall possess the earth. The popular mind, finding Judas Maccabeus to be a hero, seems to have been inclined to see in him and his house, despite non-Davidic origin, the returned David. But this delusion soon passed away, and the apocalyptic literature of the immediately following period shows us the Davidic hope stronger and more definite than ever before. The Psalter of Solomon, for example, gives us an excellent idea of the way in which the temporary belief in the Asmonæan dynasty served, after the delusion was realized, to revive and strengthen the Davidic hope ; and from this period until Bar-Cochebas and the final revolt against Hadrian the air was full of the expectation of the Messiah of David's line.

I have thus endeavored to describe the rise of the hope of a Davidic Messiah, — that is, of a ruler of David's line who should restore the glory of the idealized kingdom of David, — and to point out that in its origin this hope was one common to Israel with other nations — a hope conceived by desire, and born of adversity. This hope I have briefly sought to trace through the uncertain stages of its incipiency, until it assumed fixed form in the latter days of the Asmonæan dynasty.

This is the popular element which constitutes the warp of the ultimate, realized hope. The woof which was woven into this warp was the grand teaching that Jehovah himself is king of Israel, and Israel his chosen, his anointed. The rule of an earthly king is possible only on the theory that he is the representative and vicegerent of Jehovah, the embodiment of his righteousness on earth. Notwithstanding the unrighteousness of each successive Davidic sovereign, the perfect, unhistorical David of their ideal enables the prophets to look forward to an ultimate righteous king of David's line, the true representative of divinity on earth, under whom and in whom is realized the ideal Israel.

Any one reading carefully the vision of Isaiah (vi.), the conscience record of his call to prophecy, must see how deeply the prophet was impressed with a sense of his people's wickedness. Jehovah, the pure and righteous divinity, cannot accept the people in its present position, and yet it is utterly impossible that he should destroy or abandon his people ; therefore he will purge them with a great calamity, "until the cities are desolate without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the field lieth waste," until it seems as though no remnant could escape ; but as the terebinth and oak when cut down grow again from the stock that remains in the ground, so shall Israel grow again, for "a holy seed shall be its stock." Here stands out clearly the doctrine of the identification of Jehovah with Israel, so that he cannot forsake nor destroy his people, and, on the other hand, as a necessary correlative, the doctrine of the perfect essence of the people of Israel, which is purified from the dross of common and unrighteous Israel by the fire of affliction. In Joel and Zephaniah, in some of the Psalms, and here and there in Isaiah and the other prophets, the Davidic king is ignored and, in Mosaic manner, Jehovah is represented as the direct ruler of the millennial kingdom. On the other side, the doctrine of the perfect essence leads to the doctrine of the "Servant of Jehovah" in Deutero-Isaiah and some of the Psalms. The teaching that Jehovah is king of Israel and that Israel is his chosen people is developed, therefore, in two directions, and with the fundamental belief in the restoration of David's glory we must combine the doctrine of Jehovah's immediate action in the millennial kingdom, and the teaching

of the perfect essence suffering for the imperfect people at large. Such doctrines they were which, woven together by scribal study, produced the systematic but apparently inconsistent Christology of the Pharisees.

Between the utterance of Messianic prophecies and the ministry of Jesus there intervened a period which had a very considerable part to play in the preparation for the Messiah. In the first place, it was sufficiently long to allow the varied conceptions of the prophets to crystallize into dogma, and acquire an undisputed claim to validity as inspired utterances. The change of language was also a factor in this process, putting the ancient writings under seal, as it were. In the second place, the full execution of the law of Moses during this period united the people among themselves, and secured them from external interference during the process of dogmatization. Further, the full execution of the law removed sacrifice altogether out of the sphere of the common life of the people. It idealized and refined it. It suppressed entirely the festal side of sacrifice, substituting the expiatory notion. The Law laid great stress on the sinfulness of the people, and the necessity of making atonement for sin, and post-legal developments emphasized this even more strongly. But while one tendency of this period was to impress upon the people their sinfulness and the necessity of expiation, at the same time the expiatory sacrifice was removed out of the popular sphere, idealized, and surrounded with a mystic halo of awe and glory. On another side the exaltation of the Law led to the synagogical system, with its development of personal religion. In the third place, during this period was developed the Pharisaic and popular doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Not to attempt too many details of the preparation of this period, the external history also played its part. The partially successful revolt of the Maccabees revived the national pride of the Jews, and confirmed their belief in Jehovah's special favor. That revolt quickened the Messianic hope, and the deep and ever increasing humiliation of the Roman epoch following the nation's brief dream of glory brought it to birth. From about the time of Jesus until the time of Bar-Cochebas, the nation was in a condition of unrest, hourly expecting what the Rabbins called "the birth-pangs of the Messiah."

Our knowledge of what the Jews of Jesus' time expected the Messiah to be is derived from Jewish apocalyptic literature, the Targums, the Talmud, and the New Testament. The Targums give us what we may call official knowledge of those Old Testament passages which were universally held to be Messianic, and were constantly read as such in the synagogues. The date of the Targums is uncertain. Jewish tradition refers the oldest of them to the first century, but critics seem to have discredited this tradition. It is, however, allowed that at the time of Jesus a Targum, or popular and explanatory translation of a large part or the whole of the Old Testament, was in use. Whether it had already assumed written form, or was merely handed down by oral tradition, is uncertain. For all our purposes the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan may be regarded as identical with the Targum of the time of Jesus; for whatever changes, if any, were made in the Messianic passages would have told against and not in favor of the Christian view. Reckoning our Messianic passages, then, according to the Targum, we find represented the three Messianic conceptions mentioned above. The Messiah of the tribe of Judah and family of David is the most fully represented of all. In the Targum of Onkelos, Gen. xlix. 10, we read, instead of "until Shiloh come," "until the Messiah come, whose is the kingdom." In Num. xxiv. 17, in the

prophecy of Balaam, "the sceptre out of Israel" becomes "the Messiah out of Israel." The Targum of Jonathan makes Micah say (v. 1) with reference to Bethlehem Ephratah: "From thee before me shall arise the Messiah, who shall be the bearer of power over Israel, whose name was spoken from of old time, from days of everlasting." In Isaiah xi. 1 "the rod out of the stem of Jesse, the branch out of his roots" is explained as "the king, the Messiah." In Jeremiah xxiii. 5 "the righteous branch of David" is "the Messiah of righteousness" whom God will raise up unto David. Of passages of the second class, those which represent God as an immediate deliverer, Hab. iii. 18 may serve as an example. In the original we read: "And I, in Jehovah will I rejoice; I will exult in the God of my salvation." In explanation of this the Targum of Jonathan has: "On account of the wonder and salvation which thou hast wrought for thy Messiah and for the remnant of thy people which is left, said the prophet: and I, in the word of Jehovah will I rejoice, and I will exult in God, the worker of my salvation." The third class, which represents the Messiah as the perfect essence suffering for the imperfect people at large, is also recognized in the Targum. The "Servant of Jehovah" of Deutero-Isaiah is explained as the Messiah in the Targum of Jonathan. Accordingly that famous passage iii. 13-liii. 12 was in the time of Jesus authoritatively explained to the people as Messianic. Those parts of this passage, however, which represent Messiah as making an atonement were, at least in part, explained away. "Surely our griefs he bore, and our pains he carried them" (lili. 4) becomes in the Targum: "For our debts will he pray, and our misdeeds for his sake shall be forgiven." "All of us like sheep have gone astray, each after his own way have we turned, and Jehovah hath laid on him the iniquity of us all" (6) is rendered: "It was the good pleasure (of Jehovah) to forgive the sins of us all for his sake." Weber,<sup>1</sup> commenting on this passage, says: "Everywhere, even in the last verse ('he bare the sin of many, and for the transgressors made he intercession') the Targum finds no representative suffering and death of the Messiah to expiate the sins of the people."

I use the Targum on the last cited passages merely to establish the fact that at the time of Jesus such passages, which represent the ideally perfect "Servant of Jehovah" as making atonement for imperfect, sinful Israel, were interpreted as Messianic, not to show that the Jews accepted the doctrine of the Messiah as making atonement by suffering and death. Whatever part, however, tradition might play among the Jews, it always rested ultimately on Scripture, rendering possible an appeal to the latter against itself. The Targumic explanation of these passages as Messianic gave authority for their application in the case of Jesus, while against the non-expiatory interpretation put upon them in the Targum it was quite in order to make appeal to the original Scripture. The position of tradition as over against the Scriptures at the time of Jesus was much the same as at the Reformation.

The early apocalyptic literature, such as the Psalter of Solomon, part of the book of Enoch, and part of the Sibylline prophecies, is a valuable witness against a few writers who have imagined the Messianic hope to have been dead at the time of Jesus, and have tried to represent the testimony of the gospels to an existing Messianic expectation as fanciful and

<sup>1</sup> *Altsynagogale Theologie*, p. 345.

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false, and Talmudic doctrine and post-Christian revolt and turbulence among the Jews as alike a side product of Christianity.

The Talmud and the New Testament must be studied together. By combining incidental allusions in the New Testament with passages of the Talmud, a pretty fair picture may be painted of Jewish belief and expectation at the time of Jesus. It is impossible to date in any way such a heterogeneous mass of speculation and tradition as the Talmud. Some of it is very old, some not. In some cases the kernel of a tradition may be old, while the tradition in the form given in the Talmud is comparatively new. The New Testament serves in some sort as a measuring scale to the Talmud, and by a comparison of the two some valuable results are obtained.

Comparing, then, the Talmud and the New Testament, we find a great resemblance as to principle in their method of using the prophets. New Testament writers frequently tell us that this thing or that thing was done "that it might be fulfilled which was written, or said." The Haggada uses the same phrase repeatedly, telling this or that trivial story, it may be, to illustrate the fulfillment of various prophecies. The principle in both cases is that each word of prophecy must find its fulfillment. The New Testament claim that Moses and all the prophets testified concerning Jesus is the Talmudic doctrine that all the prophets testified only of the days of the Messiah. The Talmudic idea that all events, destinies, hopes, and wishes which connect themselves with the Holy Land or its inhabitants have been already announced by the prophets and may be found by the exercise of sufficient ingenuity, is manifestly at the bottom of some New Testament references to the Old Testament (such as Matt. ii. 23). But besides these agreements of principle, there is also agreement as to certain points of detail regarding the Messiah. Edersheim, in "The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," p. 164, mentions the following doctrines concerning the Messiah as supported by the Talmud: "Premundane existence, elevation above Moses and the angels, representative character, sufferings, violent death for his people,<sup>1</sup> work on behalf of living, redemption and restoration of Israel." These can all be supported from the Talmud, and yet it can hardly be said, I think, that all of them are really taught there. The great popular belief at the time of Jesus, as we gather from a comparison of New Testament and Talmud, was in a conquering, human, but almost super-human king of David's line. Preceding him would come Elijah to preach a great repentance; perhaps, also, Moses and Jeremiah, or yet others of the prophets.

Having discussed the Jewish hope of a Messiah, it remains to make a few suggestions regarding the bearing of what has been presented on some parts of the New Testament. In considering the statements of New Testament writers with reference to Old Testament prophecies, we must recognize two diametrically opposite possibilities: of inventing or coloring facts, to make the actuality correspond with prediction; of perverting or altering a prophecy, to show that the event had been predicted. The first possibility must be considered in those cases where we learn from the New Testament itself or from other sources that a strong expectation existed, that is, in the test points of the Messiahship as conceived by

<sup>1</sup> This may be a later development consequent upon the death of Bar-Cochbas, whom Rabbi Akiba had formally declared to be the Messiah, and it may have been in the same connection that the idea arose of a suffering Messiah of the tribe of Ephraim.

the Jews. The Davidic descent is one of those points. Was the Davidic descent of Jesus invented, consciously or unconsciously, in order to connect him with the Messianic predictions? The genealogies given in St. Matthew and St. Luke go for little with the critics in answering this question. It is the incidental passages in the Gospels which are strong. They seem to show, without doubt, that he was admitted by all, his enemies included, to be a descendant of David through Joseph. There is no sign in the whole body of New Testament literature, nor, so far as I am aware, in Talmudic literature, that this claim was seriously contested. We know, moreover, that the family of David was not extinct even a century after Jesus, so that the possibility of testing the claim existed. Under these circumstances the existence of the expectation is not evidence against the fact.

A minor question, a side issue of the Davidic descent, is the birth in Bethlehem. Here the decision is not so absolute. Leaving aside the story of the birth as given in St. Matthew and St. Luke, there is no further notice of any connection which Jesus had with Bethlehem. He is, on the contrary, constantly referred to as coming from Nazareth, and that in cases where his birth in Bethlehem, had it been known, ought certainly, we should think, to have been mentioned. So his Nazarene origin was objected to his Messianic claims, and we do not learn that the objection was answered. On the other hand, it is claimed, there are peculiarities in the account of the birth in Bethlehem which render it improbable that it should have been invented to satisfy the terms of prophecy. It tends to dishonor, so far as its main fact goes, and not to honor. It is too accurate and circumstantial. The argument from Jewish expectation may work here in two ways. Primarily it militates against the fact. If the fact that Jesus was the Messiah be first firmly established, a secondary favorable argument may be constructed. In following the development of the Messianic hope, we find the expectation of the restoration of the Davidic kingdom the fulcrum on which the prophets rest their lever in lifting up and spiritualizing the conceptions of the people and preparing them for the divine revelation. It is, then, scarcely conceivable that when God makes that revelation he should throw aside all that had been accomplished by the prophets, by failing to build on the foundation which had been so long and carefully prepared. It was, in point of fact, impossible to make a firm attachment to the Messianic hopes of Israel without Davidic birth. With reference to this secondary argument it must, however, be observed that its chief strength applies to the fact of Davidic birth, and that it is not strong with reference to such a side issue as the birth in Bethlehem, until it be first proven that that is a necessary part of the Davidic concept.

The question regarding the position of John the Baptist may be referred to this category, inasmuch as the expectation of his coming formed an important introductory part of the Messianic hope. The testimony of Josephus, compared with that of the New Testament, gives in this case indubitable proof of the historical character of the Baptist and his work. His activity, as represented from both sources, was such as fully to justify Jesus in pointing to him, as he is reported to have done, as fulfilling the expectation comprehended under the name Elijah, and, therefore, as an additional proof of his own Messiahship. The question as to John's views regarding both his own mission and the Messiah is more difficult to answer. In view of the whole condition of Messianic belief in his time,

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it seems impossible to hold that he expected an immediate revelation of Jehovah rather than a revelation through a personal Messiah. He must be attached to the thought of his own time, not torn out of his connection and attached to a certain line of thought in the past. In face of any direct evidence to the contrary, it must be assumed that his thought was moulded and modified by the thought and conditions of his time, and hence, in relation to the Messianic hope, that he looked for a personal Messiah. There is no reason, furthermore, to discredit the story of the three synoptical gospels, that John sent to inquire of Jesus whether he were the Messiah. This would point to a position of friendliness towards him, with an inclination, perhaps, to regard him as the Messiah, and yet an uncertainty as to whether he were really so. The synoptical account of the baptism of Jesus does not, so far as the Baptist is concerned, conflict with this view. As to himself, his attitude, as there related, shows both his greatness and his littleness. He was certain of a divine mission to prepare the way of the Messiah by preaching repentance; on the other hand he is not conscious of being literally Elijah. Bound by the letter, he is unable to spiritualize the conception of the return of Elijah, as Jesus did; hence he attached himself to another passage of Scripture, where Isaiah speaks of the voice crying in the wilderness (the very passage which Malachi had developed into his prophecy of the coming of Elijah).

The expectation that the Messiah would show signs and work wonders cannot reasonably be supposed to have given rise to all the stories of the miracles of Jesus, and need not be further discussed here.

The virgin birth of Jesus, and his resurrection from the dead, belong to the second category. The birth of the Messiah from a virgin was no part of the Messianic conception of the Jews. If we find such a belief existing with reference to Jesus, we cannot therefore suppose that it was a reflex of the Messianic expectation, since that expectation involved nothing of the sort. The prophetic passage by which the virgin birth is substantiated in the New Testament is nowhere explained as Messianic, and the form in which it is quoted is found neither in the Hebrew text nor in the Targum.<sup>1</sup> As far as it goes this is, then, an argument in favor of the fact. Without entering further into the question of fact, it may be said that the argument against it from silence being a very strong

<sup>1</sup> 1. I cannot conscientiously render the Massoretic text of Isaiah vii. 14 as is done in our authorized version. Such a rendering is the product of church tradition only. On the other hand, I am not certain that the LXX. does not represent a more original text. But this would give us "the virgin," and not "a virgin." Whichever be the more original, however, a comparison of this section with the following chapter, as also with the fourth chapter of Micah, has led me to believe that Judah or Jerusalem is referred to as the parent of that purified offspring of tribulation which should be a veritable *God with us*. At the moment when Isaiah spoke, the daughter of Zion was, to his conception, pregnant, and the woes about to come upon her were the pangs of birth of the perfect remnant. As regards the perfect remnant, then, the teaching of the seventh chapter would be the same as the closing verses of the sixth. The same teaching, with the same use of *Immanuel*, appears also in the first part of the eighth chapter. The difficulties of the seventh chapter appear to be due to overmuch editing and abbreviation, obscuring and complicating the original utterance of the prophet.

2. The suggestion that the virgin idea might have been derived from Buddhism seems to be ruled out by the apparent proof that the story of Buddha's virgin birth is a late part of his myth, not antedating the Christian era.

one makes it advisable that apologists should avoid involving this question with the question of the Incarnation, basing the latter upon the virgin birth. In this St. Paul can be quoted as an example.

The story of the resurrection from the dead, like the story of the divine conception, cannot be derived from the Jewish expectation of the Messiah. The Pharisees believed in the resurrection of the body, but in no special and peculiar resurrection of the Messiah. Jesus seems to have told his disciples that the Scriptures prophesied his death and resurrection,<sup>1</sup> but it requires considerable ingenuity to pick out and piece together Scripture texts which may be thought to prove such a death and resurrection from the dead. Certainly it constituted no part of the Jewish doctrine or expectation regarding the Messiah, as is abundantly proved by the concurrent testimony of the Talmud and the New Testament. This is in so far an argument for the fact. There is in this case no argument of silence against the fact. It was the corner-stone of St. Paul's preaching, as proved by his unimpeached letters, within twenty-five years of the event. It is narrated in all the gospels. It is repeatedly mentioned or referred to by the other New Testament writers.

It may not be amiss to add a few words regarding the attitude which Jesus assumed towards the Messiahship, and regarding the citation of the Old Testament in the New for the purpose of showing that Jesus was the fulfillment in detail of Messianic prophecies. As to the latter point, I apprehend that there is a by no means contemptible argument for the propriety of the use, within reasonable limits, of such citation of the Old Testament for details of the life of Jesus, and, also, that Jesus is the fulfillment of such predictions. The use of the Old Testament in the New must be studied in connection with the theological development and thought of the period. Such and such passages were at that time regarded as Messianic. Would it not be reasonable that God should cause his Messiah to fulfill, to some extent at least, these expectations of the Jews? and was it not even necessary to do so, in order to attach him to the thought of the times? If such a course was reasonable and necessary, it may afford some clue to the use which Jesus himself makes of certain Old Testament passages.

As to the former matter. Until the very end of his life, Jesus asserted his Messiahship only to a trusted few, strictly forbidding them to publish it. Towards the people he maintained an attitude of reserve. While by many of his acts tacitly claiming the Messiahship, he yet did not at first formally and publicly proclaim himself the Messiah. Indeed, he could not have done so without exciting a revolt, or causing his own premature death. This position enabled him to establish a Messianic record, and to prepare his disciples for the work of proclaiming him as the true Messiah on the ground of that record. When he did at last openly proclaim himself to be the Messiah, which he did very clearly, first by deeds and then in words, it was so done that a revolt was avoided, and his death ensued in a manner according with Old Testament prophecies authoritatively set forth as Messianic. The object of his course in these particulars seems to have been to enable his followers to preach him as the true Messiah on the ground of the record which he made.

<sup>1</sup> They even said his resurrection on the third day, with which compare a Rabbinic comment of uncertain date on Hos. vi. 2, quoted by Wünsche, *Beiträge*, p. 197: "All inhabitants of the earth must taste of death, but God will renew them on the third day, i. e., restore them to life and set them before him."

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Studying the life and teaching of Jesus in connection with the life and thought of his times, we find him attaching himself thoroughly to that life and thought, and, at the same time, we find him revolutionizing them — revolutionizing them, however, to some extent in the same way in which the reformers revolutionized their times, namely, by going back to that which was more primitive. Through and over the teachings and traditions of the Rabbins and the peculiarly Jewish conceptions of his compeers, he appeals to the prophets. The intervening period had done its work of preparation, and must now be carried back to union with the past. Jesus is the manifestation of Jehovah; he is the ideal Israel; or, more catholic than prophecy in his fulfillment of its concept, he is ideal humanity, the heaven-throned apex of that pyramid whose base is mankind at large, and its middle point the church of the saints. The careful preparation for the manifestation of a Messiah, the gradual elevation of a common human longing to a glorious aspiration, — the fulfillment of which could be found only in some manifestation of the deity, — seems to argue most strongly a divine purpose, and to confirm our belief that he whose life both fulfilled and elevated that aspiration was Messiah and was divine. Jesus, if his claims be allowed, was Messiah in this threefold manner: the human descendant of David, ideally perfect humanity suffering for the imperfect, the divinity manifested. The first and lowest of these was an instrumentality for the revelation of the other two. The belief in the Davidic sovereign played the important part it did, in order that there might be a point of attachment to the natural human longing of the people to lift their thoughts and hopes to a higher truth.

John P. Peters.

DIVINITY SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

**THE STORE CITY OF PITHOM and the Route of the Exodus.** By EDOUARD NAVILLE. London: Trübner & Co. 1885.

IN February, 1883, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, M. Naville commenced excavations in Wady Tumeilat. His official report was received in April of the present year. In it he claims to have discovered the Heroöpolis of the Greeks, to have identified it with the Pithom of Ex. i. 11, and with the Succoth of Ex. xiii. 20, and, by inference, to have traced the route of the exodus, obtaining some clew to the sites of Etham, Migdol, Pi-hahiroth, and Baäl-zephon. The discovery of facts which throw light on the early history of the human race is more important than a mere work of art for a museum, even though that work of art be an Apollo Belvidere or a Venus di Medici. That we may be in a position to judge of the work done by M. Naville, it may be well to review the knowledge previously obtained of some of the places he is said to have discovered.

Theophrastus is the earliest writer who speaks of the Heroöpolis of the eastern Delta, the city of the god Hero or Heroön. He says it was near the end of the Gulf of Arabia. Strabo in seven different places confirms this testimony of Theophrastus. In another place (C. 884) he says it

was near Arsinoe and Cleopatris. Ptolemy (iv. 5, 54) says that the river of Trajan ran through Heroöpolis. In Bischoff and Möller's "Wörterbuch der Geographie" it is stated that "Heroöpolis was a city in the east part of lower Egypt, on the southern bank of the river of Ptolemy, east from Pharbastis (*i. e.* Belbeis), 8½ miles northwest from the inlet to the Arabian Gulf." Lucian (Alex. 44, Reitz 11, 250) says that "a young man embarked at Alexandria, ascended the Nile, and sailed as far as Clysma, a port at the extreme end of the canal, at the Red Sea." This statement was written about 160 or 170 of our era, and Lucian held some official connection with the government of Egypt.

From all this it is evident that Clysma was a port on the Red Sea, at the eastern end of the canal, and that Heroöpolis was a town on the southern bank of that canal, 8½ miles west from Clysma. D'Anville, Quatremère, Champollion, Du Bois Aymé, and Lepsius, all put the city of Hero in the valley of Saba Biar, at the west end of the Lowlands, at a place now known as Mukfhar; Lepsius says an hour and a half east from Tel-el-Maskhutah.

The question arises here, Where was the northern end of the Red Sea? Rosiére, a geologist of the French Expedition under Napoleon I., explored the Isthmus, and framed an elaborate argument to prove that since the beginning of the historic periods the head of the Red Sea has been, and must have been, where it is now, namely, at Suez. He says that the waters of the Red Sea could not have been confined within the basin of Lake Timsah; but if they ever came so far, any violent storm or heavy tide would have swept away the loose sand of which the northern shore of the lake is formed, and thus the two seas would have been united naturally, and there would have been no isthmus. Lepsius denies that there has been any upheaval of this part of the Delta, on the ground that the remains of a skillfully built canal of ancient work can now be traced north of Suez for a distance of three leagues. He contends that if the sea had been there no canal had been needed, and, moreover, would have occupied the very place where the canal was built. Explorers agree that there are no evidences of a recent sea bed in that region. Evidently, then, if the Red Sea ever extended north of the point which it now reaches, it must have been in some prehistoric period. If the land from Suez to Lake Timsah has been upheaved since the exodus, it would be strange that Wady Tumeilât was not upheaved too. But had the wady been ten feet lower than it is now, the canal of Necho (or of whom-ever built it) would have flooded the whole valley with water from the Nile, and created a lake, like Mareotis, in Saba Biar, which would have remained a lake. If Lucian's "young man" found salt water 8½ miles east from where Tel-el-Maskhutah now is, then the upheaval must have been confined to a narrow line and a limited area! Who ever heard of an upheaval which raised a few square miles smoothly without jar or crack, and of which there is no historical record?

Besides the above references to Heroöpolis, we find it mentioned in the Septuagint translation of Gen. xlvi. 28. In the Hebrew text it is said that Jacob, going into Egypt, sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen. The Septuagint for Goshen substitutes "Heroöpolis in the land of Ramses." Respecting this Greek translation M. Naville quotes Lepsius, who says that "the Septuagint must have known the geography of Egypt." Pray how should they know the location of a city never of great importance, and which centuries before had ceased to

exist? Calmet complains that the Septuagint were ignorant of geography, and declares that in this very passage they mistook the Hebrew verb תַּחֲרֵת, translated "direct" in our version, for the name of a city, ἡρων. Rosiére regards it as indisputable that the Septuagint mistook תַּחֲרֵת for ἡρων. He says: "Le fait est bien constaté." They were deceived by the consonance of two words.

The Coptic Version, made two hundred years after that of the Septuagint, and several centuries after Heroöpolis had been forgotten, when Egypt was plunged in profound barbarism, its geography less known than it is to-day, detected the blunder of the Septuagint, and substituted Pithom for Heroöpolis. What evidence they had that Pithom was the place of meeting, we have no means of knowing. Probably they knew nothing of Heroöpolis; but if they did, they knew that it was not the place where Joseph met his father. To suppose, with M. Naville, that they arbitrarily put Pithom in the place of Heroöpolis for the pleasure of using a synonym is absurd.

Josephus (Ant. ii. 7, 5) says that Joseph went out to meet his father and they met in Heliopolis. Why does not somebody assume that Goshen, Heroöpolis, Pithom, and Heliopolis, were one and the same city?

In the Arabic version there is a blunder similar to that in the Septuagint. Finding, in the Syriac Version from which they translated, the verb سَادِرُ, *sader*, which means *to send*, the Arabic scholars supposed it was a proper name, and so translated it سَادِرٌ, *Sadyr*, and there have been men who have identified Sadyr with Goshen! Jerome, the Vulgate, and the Samaritan Version agree with the Hebrew that Jacob and Joseph met in Goshen.

The French Expedition at the close of the last century found at Tel-el-Maskhutah a monolith of red granite cut in the form of an arm-chair, on which were seated three Egyptian figures. These represent Ramses II. between two gods, Ra and Tum. On the back of this chair was an inscription, which Lepsius translated in 1845. With this were also found a tablet of red granite, two sphinxes in black granite, and a broken naos in red sandstone. These four monuments all belong to the time of Ramses II. M. Naville says that the word Pithom was not found on them;<sup>1</sup> but Lepsius says it was.<sup>2</sup> M. Naville found a lost piece of the naos containing the cartouche of Ramses II., and the word Thuku followed by a determinative which signifies that it was a foreign place. These monuments led Lepsius to suppose that Tel-el-Maskhutah was Ramses, not the treasure city of Ex. i. 11, but one of the many cities of Upper and Lower Egypt which contained a shrine to the deified Ramses. The station was even then called Ramsis by the Arabs. The guide-book Joanne, the Egyptian part of which was edited by Mariette Bey and Maspero, says: "Near the canal of Abou Dibad is found Ramsis, which evidently commemorates an ancient city of Rameses passed over in silence by writers of profane history."

We come now to the results of M. Naville's excavations. Let him describe them himself. "We came," he says, "upon thick walls of crude bricks joined by thin layers of mortar. These walls are remarkably well built, and have a thickness of from two to three yards; the surface being perfectly smooth, and as well polished as possible with such material as

<sup>1</sup> *Store City*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronologie*, i. 357, note 6.

Nile mud. . . . These are the walls of a great number of rectangular chambers of various sizes, none of which have any communication with each other. . . . At about four yards from the soil the walls stand on natural sand, showing that it is the basis of the building." With regard to the use of these chambers, M. Naville says: "I believe them to have been built for no other purpose than that of storehouses or granaries, into which the Pharaohs gathered the provisions necessary for armies about to cross the desert." He also suggests that "the Ptolemies may have used them as warehouses in the trade with Africa which took place through the He-  
ropolitan Gulf."

Besides these granaries, M. Naville found at Tel-el-Maskhutah eleven monuments containing hieroglyphic inscriptions. The texts on which he relies to prove that he has found the city of Pithom mentioned in Ex. i. 11 are the following: "The good recorder of the abode of Tum;" "the head of the prophets of Tum;" Tum is called "the great god of Thuku." It is said that the abode of Tum is the place where Osorkon II. celebrated festivals. The tablet of Philadelphos, a stone 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 2 inches, is doubtless a most important discovery. In its inscriptions it is repeatedly said: "This abode was erected to Tum." Again we read: "When it was reported to the king that the abode was finished for his father Tum, the great God of Thuku, his Majesty went himself to the eighth nome, in the presence of his father Tum."

It must be observed in all these texts that Pithom is invariably the abode, the sanctuary, the house of Tum. It is never called a city. Ank-renp-nefer was the good recorder of the palace, or of the temple of Tum, not of the city of Pithom. He was an ecclesiastical, not a civil officer. In all the eleven monuments found the determinative for city occurs with Pithom but twice, and that in the tablet of Philadelphos of the XXII<sup>d</sup> dynasty, and in lines which are so badly mutilated that Naville does not attempt to translate them. For all we know, the city of Pithom mentioned in those two lines may be a city fifty miles away. In all the monuments of the time of Ramses II. there is no mention of a *city* Pithom. Thuku, on the contrary, is always accompanied either by the determinative of a city, or of a region inhabited by foreigners. The contrast between Pithom and Thuku, in this respect, is remarkable, and calls for an explanation. It may be asked, Have we not a right to infer that the temple gave a name to the place? We reply, The place already has one name. It is repeatedly called the city of Thuku in the monuments of both the XIX<sup>th</sup> and the XXII<sup>d</sup> dynasties, and the region round about is called the region of Thuku, and how could it be called Pithom at the same time? M. Naville has found at Tel-el-Maskhutah granaries, storehouses; he has also found a temple sacred to the god Tum; but there is no evidence that he has found a city called Pithom, much less the city which Ex. i. 11 says the Hebrews built for Pharaoh. It is known that Brugsch Bey once claimed that Tanis was the city Ramses of Ex. i. 11. In the "Revue Archéologique" for 1877, pp. 319-325, Maspero denies that the German savant is authorized to set up any such claim. He admits that Brugsch has found in Tanis a temple to the deified Ramses, a Pi-Ramses, a sanctuary, an abode of Ramses; but he asserts that Brugsch has no right to extend the name of the sanctuary to the city, still less to identify the Ramses Tanis thus obtained with the Ramses of Ex. i. 11. He says that such a conclusion is not justified by the facts. What is true on the shores of Lake Menzaleh is equally true on the banks of the

river of Trajan. M. Naville has proved that at Tel-el-Maskhutah there was once a temple erected to the god Tum, and he deserves the thanks of the world; but that does not authorize him to write with assurance of the "city of Pithom," or of "Herôopolis-Pithom," or of "the Stone of Pithom." Before he does that, he must show us in some intelligible connection the words: *em tem a Pithom*, or *Pithom nai*. That he has not done.

The assurance of M. Naville is not strange. Turning up from beneath the sands of Egypt a stone bearing the name of Ramses II. and of Pithom would naturally carry conviction to the mind of an enthusiastic Egyptologist. Besides, the announcement of M. Naville's discoveries was made with undue haste, before he had time to read the inscriptions with care, and he must have felt constrained to verify the assertions of his too sanguine friends. It is also a fact that the average man is more ready to defray the expenses of an expedition that may throw light on Sunday-school lessons and refute skeptics than he is to assist merely scientific explorations. To expect a society dependent on patronage to be indifferent to this fact is to expect it to be more than human.

That Heliopolis, the On of the Bible, was an abode of Tum, a Pi-Tum, is abundantly proved by the inscriptions on the obelisk Piazza del Popolo, and on the London and New York obelisks, and also on the table of Pi-ankhi. Nobody, therefore, *doubts the possibility* of exhuming monuments in the vicinity of Heliopolis which will give as conclusive evidence that the Pithom of Ex. i. 11 was *there*, as any inscriptions from Tel-el-Maskhutah yet translated prove that it was elsewhere.

It is possible that the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt encircled a point north of Heliopolis, in the neighborhood of Bubastis. Ruins are there now, called Tel-el-Yehudeh. The Itinerary of Antoninus mentions a place there which is called *vicus Iudaorum*, where the high priest Onias had a Jewish temple. We may yet find *there* more conclusive evidence of the site of ancient Pithom than can be given by an altar to the god Tum. That possibility admitted, and it is proof that the *city* of Pithom is not yet found. Moreover, the Thou of Antoninus and the Patumus of Herodotus are not identified. The punctuation of Herodotus which M. Naville borrows from Wesselling, and which would place Patumus near the eastern end of the fresh-water canal, is not adopted by Mr. Sayee in his recent edition of Herodotus, and scholars have been slow to accept it.

M. Naville attaches great importance to a Roman milestone he found, which puts the distance between Heroöpolis and Clyisma at nine miles. This only gives in round numbers what Bischoff and Möller state more exactly at eight miles and three quarters.

The Thuku repeatedly mentioned on the monuments M. Naville assumes to be identical with the Biblical Succoth. It is said, and is doubtless true, that the Egyptian *th* is sometimes transcribed by the Hebrew סâmekh, and that the Egyptian *u* or *t* is equivalent to the Hebrew תִּ. Philologists have not been enthusiastic in adopting this position. Revillout in "The Academy" of April 4th, while evidently admiring the scholarly qualities of the young explorer, and desiring to accept the results indicated in his book, says: "Quant à l'identification de Thuku et de Succoth je n'en dirai rien. On a pour l'égyptien nombre d'exemples de *t* changés en *s* et reciprocement. Mais j'avoue que l'argumentation est moins rigoureuse." M. Revillout seems to recognize the principle that

reasoning from sound is not necessarily sound reasoning, a principle abundantly illustrated by the Septuagint.

But whether M. Naville has found the city of Pithom or not, he certainly has found the character which, in the nome lists of Philae and Edfou, designates the eighth, the Sethroite nome of Lower Egypt. Any one who is familiar with the efforts which have been made to define the boundaries of this vexatious nome must be grateful for any information concerning it. But the witnesses are still conflicting. Josephus — contra Apion i. 14 — says that the Sethroite nome was the one of which Avaris was the chief city; and the Egypt Exploration Fund has recently assured us that San Tanis is most certainly Avaris; and Brugsch Bey, in his "Dictionnaire géographique," published in 1880, says that it is an incontestable and unassailable certainty that the name Thuku designates, as the Sethroite nome, the region bordering Lake Menzaleh. Strabo is equally explicit. On the authority of Artemidorus he says that as one goes from Pelusium there are two lakes near the marshes, as they are called. The Sethroite nome extends along one of these lakes.<sup>1</sup>

M. Naville supposes that the discovery of the city of Pithom and of the city and district of Thuku authorizes him to infer that the route of the Hebrews from Egypt led from the rich pasture lands near the lakes of Thuku along the northern shore of the Arabian Gulf to the wilderness of Etham, called in the "Papyrus Anastasi VI." "the land of Atumu." He supposes that the sea was only a short distance from Thuku, and covered the present valley of Saba Biar. Their next station was Migdol. M. Naville rejects the Migdolum of the Itinerary, twelve miles from Pelusium, because that would compel him to accept the northern route of Schleiden and Brugsch. He therefore conjectures that Migdol was what is now called the Serapeum, — a ledge of limestone rocks through which Lesseps had especial difficulty in digging his canal, — that between there and Lake Timsah the sea was narrow and shallow, the east wind opened the sea at that point, as it often did, and then the Israelites passed over. The evidence that any sea ever washed the Serapeum is only "conjectural."

The Pikeheret mentioned on the tablet of Philadelphos as a second sanctuary to Tum at Thuku, but not mentioned on any monument of the XIXth dynasty, M. Naville supposes may be the Pi-hahiroth between Migdol and the sea before which the Hebrews encamped.

Nothing can be more apparent, nothing more cheerfully recognized, than the careful, painstaking, scholarly faithfulness with which M. Naville has done his work. It is not too much to say that in all the world no man could be found who would have done that work more satisfactorily to the most fastidious critic. He has given a faultless description and history of opinions of the district in which the excavations were made, a careful translation of the monuments discovered, so far as the mutilations would allow, and some luminous comments on the geography of places supposed to be situated in the eastern part of the Delta, such as Arsinoe, Clysma, and the lake of Kemuer. From the standpoint he assumes, he points out what seems to him to have been the route of the exodus. In addition, he gives a chapter on the history of Ptolemy Philadelphus, reviews the article of Lepsius in the "Zeitschrift" for 1884, "Ueber die Lage von Pithom," and shows, what it was hardly necessary to show, that Tel-el-Maskhutah is not the ancient city of Ramses. With such a record, it goes without saying that his excavations were abundantly remunerative, and his Memoir

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, b. xxii. ch. 1, § 24. See Artemidorus, Hoffmann's edition, p. 239.

an honor even to one whose reputation as an Egyptologist was already enviable. This is an age remarkable for its antiquarian discoveries. But yesterday it was said that the very marble slab on which the Saviour reclined at the marriage of Cana in Galilee had been found, even when Cana itself cannot be identified. Now it is possible that this slab is what it professes to be. It is possible that a piece of the cross of Calvary is still preserved at St. Peter's. So it is possible that Heroöpolis is Tel-el-Maskhutah, was once the city of Pithom, was at the same time the city of Succoth, was in the district of Succoth, which was the eighth, the Sethroite nome of Lower Egypt. All this is possible — but possibility is not proof.

Let nothing, however, detract from our high estimate of the value of the work done by M. Naville. The lucid translation of a part of the Tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphos, the lessons it teaches with regard to the money used in the Ptolemaic period, the information it imparts respecting the revenue from two divisions of Egypt, the fact disclosed that the taxes were imposed on persons and on houses, that the annual revenue received by the king was 14,800 talents of silver, that the temples of Egypt received annually 500 silver talents, and that a new date is fixed, the 21st year of the reign of Ptolemy, in the month Choiak, when statues were raised to the divine Philadelphia and their worship established, — the revelation of such facts as these makes the first work of the Egypt Exploration Fund, under the direction of the scholarly Naville, worthy of remembrance.

*L. Dickerman.*

**AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR.** By EDUARD SIEVERS, Ph. D., Professor of Germanic Philology in the University of Tuebingen. Translated and edited by ALBERT S. COOK, Ph. D. (Jena), Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of California. Boston: Published by Ginn, Heath & Co. 1885.

EVERY student of English owes a great debt of thankfulness to Professor Sievers for making his "Angelsaechsische Grammatik." It was published in 1882, and was recognized at once as far superior in fullness and accuracy of treatment of the oldest English dialects to all preceding grammars of the language. It was founded on the prose literature. Since 1882 the most important contribution to Old English grammar is the publication, in 1883, likewise by Professor Sievers, of additions to, and emendations of, his grammar, in Paul and Braune's "Beitraege," ix. 197-300. Besides these materials, Professor Cook has incorporated in the American edition the results of the work of other scholars up to the present, and has produced what is by far the best Old English grammar to be had. It treats of phonology and inflection only; but Americans have the satisfaction of consulting in March's Anglo-Saxon grammar what is acknowledged to be the best treatment of the subject of syntax. While so large a portion of Old English prose literature remains unpublished, or is to be had only in incomplete, untrustworthy published texts, a complete syntax of the language is manifestly out of the question. The Appendix, pp. 221-222, gives a valuable list of the editions of Old English prose texts already published.

*Henry Johnson.*

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

SAMUEL ADAMS. By JAMES K. HOSMER, Professor in Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Pp. xv., 442. American Statesmen Series. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

THIS work has been looked for with no ordinary interest by those who have read the admirable monograph, by Professor Hosmer, upon "Samuel Adams, the Man of the Town-Meeting," published last year in the series of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. That essay was a fair outline, an *avant-coureur*, of the larger biography now completed. Its title struck the key-note of the author's purpose in giving a new life of Samuel Adams to the world. It was evidently to present the illustrious patriot in the arena of his greatest strength, to show the origin and growth of his unequalled influence as an organizer of political sentiment, a manager of the caucus, a leader of the Boston town-meeting, and the father of American independence.

Professor Hosmer, though living beyond the Mississippi, is a true son of New England (perhaps all the more so because living away from us), and in studying our institutions he sees in the town-meeting a survival of the old "Folk-Mote" of the Saxons, that "primordial cell of our liberty," to which, with Freeman, he traces much of the spirit and vigor of our democracy. What Samuel Adams would have been without the town-meeting, it would be hard to say. What he was with it, history has recorded, and it is a record, as clear as it is grand, in favor of the freest popular discussion in the municipal forum of all questions affecting the public welfare.

This book supplies a want long felt in our Revolutionary literature. For, while it by no means supplants the well-known work in three volumes by Wells, it puts the substance of those volumes before the people in a more compact and readable form. Mr. Hosmer has also made use of original sources, like the Boston town records and the valuable papers in Mr. Bancroft's possession. And he has read the character and services of his hero in the light of the later criticism, which is certainly free from much of the prejudice which colors the portraiture of Wells, as it did that of the earlier writers. It has taken a full hundred years to give Samuel Adams and his arch-enemy, Hutchinson, their true place in our history. Formerly to praise one was to denounce the other in unsparing language. Now, at last, an author is able to discriminate, and bestow praise or censure where it belongs. He finds not a few kind words for the royal governor, which, indeed, are supported by such ample documentary proof that it will be hardly safe to question his opinion. In the same calm and judicial temper he finds that the patriots were not always above sharp practice in dealing with their foes. Even Adams, pure and incorruptible as he was, did not refuse to employ something like artifice and cunning, at times, to get an advantage in the struggle. Doubtless he and his associates, so many of whom, like himself, were men of scrupulous morality, would have held that their methods were lawful, in the position in which they were placed, just as stratagem among military men is permitted under the ethics of war. Be that as it may, the author's candor and desire for fair play lead us to follow him the more willingly into his discussion of the leaders on both sides, and of the principles which they represent.

The case between England and the Colonies is fairly stated. The chief points in Adam's life and character are well drawn. His masterly services in the town-meeting and in the Assembly take deservedly a large

share of the volume. His championship of the doctrine of independence is traced from its early beginning to its brilliant consummation in 1776. His labors in Congress after that event, his influence in framing the Articles of Confederation and the Federal Constitution, are briefly sketched, as are the events of his later life when he was President of the Senate, and Governor of Massachusetts.

The book is remarkably free from errors. One or two of slight importance may be suggested. It has been common to say, as Mr. Hosmer does, that the father of Samuel Adams was a deacon of the Old South Church. This is probably a mistake, arising from the fact that he was made a deacon of the New South Church (in 1726), although he had been a member of the Old South from 1706 to 1715.

It may also be said that Hutchinson's house was sacked at the time of the Stamp Act excitement, but not "destroyed," as stated on page 52.

A good index concludes the book, and the whole is worthily dedicated to Mrs. Hemenway, whose deep interest in promoting historical study is well known among us.

*Edward G. Porter.*

**THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.** By Rev. JAMES STALKER, M. A. 12mo, pp. ix., 235. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1884.

A PICTORIAL style and an original mind unite here. The result is a fascinating work. To compete with Neander, Farrar, or Weiss in depth and scope it makes no pretense. Its plan is more modest: "To exhibit in the briefest possible space the main features and the general course of the Life so as to cause the well-known details to flow together in the reader's mind and shape themselves into an easily comprehended whole."

By this unique method the author has just as many chapters as there are days in the week. One of his charms is a racy homeliness.

Speaking of the youth of Jesus he says, "He would have the same chance of learning Greek as a boy born in the Scottish Highlands has of learning English."

Elsewhere he imbeds a massive argument in a couple of sentences. "Their (the apostles') testimony is not the proof that He (Christ) rose. The incontestable proof is the change itself,—the fact that suddenly they had become courageous, hopeful, believing, wise, possessed with noble and reasonable views of the world's future, and equipped with resources sufficient to found the Church, convert the world, and establish Christianity in its purity among men."

One is struck constantly with the writer's mastery of materials and elevation of tone. There is a progress from good to better. Most readers will attach special value to the fifth chapter, entitled "The Year of Public Favor."

There he makes Jesus' great means of creating attention and enthusiasm to have been his miracles and his preaching. The former were proofs of his mission from the Father, and the natural outflow of the divine fullness which dwelt in Him. They were also symbols of his spiritual and saving work. On man far more than on nature were they wrought. The miracles were an essential part of his Messianic work.

But Jesus' preaching was far more important than his miracles. Its form was essentially Jewish. It was concise, epigrammatic, oracular. His thought ran in the world of images. The parable was his most character-

istic mode of speech. The Preacher himself was conspicuous in the eyes of his hearers for authority, boldness, power, and graciousness. Mr. Stalker would add humanity. The matter of his preaching, which was the Kingdom of God in its commonest phrase, was, in its central idea and soul, *Himself*. The Apostolate was, so to speak, the multiplication of his preaching. He made men preachers not merely by the mysteries of his doctrine, but by the influence of his character. That character was charged with purpose, confidence, originality, love to man, sinlessness positive and negative, and love to God.

The last chapter shows high qualities of pathos and grandeur. Speaking of the mysterious woe which was on Jesus at the crucifixion, he says: "He was bearing the sin of the world; and the consuming fire of God's nature, which is the reverse side of the light of his holiness and love, flamed forth against Him to seorch it away." His final paragraph is a protest against pessimism worthy to be written in letters of gold: "The life of Christ in History cannot cease. His influence waxes more and more; the dead nations are waiting till it reach them, and it is the hope of the earnest spirits that are bringing in the New Earth. All discoveries of the modern world, every development of juster ideas, of higher powers, of more exquisite feelings in mankind, are only new helps to interpret Him; and the lifting up of life to the level of his ideas and character is the programme of the human race."

*John Phelps Taylor.*

**MONEY IN POLITICS.** By J. K. UPTON, late Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury. With an Introduction by EDWARD ATKINSON. Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, Franklin and Hawley Streets.

"Money used simply as an interposed commodity to facilitate exchanges is man's best friend. With noiseless action it takes from man the products of his labor, and in exchange returns to him the products of all lands and climes, and when its work is accomplished modestly withdraws. It asks for no aid in doing its work: no subsidy, no legislation or monetary conferences to regulate its action. All it ever asks is to be let alone. But man will not let it alone! He needs must attempt to regulate it, and so get it within the domain of legislation, where it does not belong, and brings no end of troubles. Without any excuse legislation has debased it, substituted inferior commodities for it, interposed artificial barriers to its circulation for the alleged benefit of commerce, and by solemn proclamation declared it to possess a value which it had not."

— Page xi., Preface.

Mr. UPTON, as one may judge from the extract given above, writes in a trenchant and positive style. He writes also from a definite and consistent purpose. His book is an impeachment of American legislation in respect to money. He traces, in a very succinct way, the course of legislation from the beginning, dwelling chiefly upon the periods of financial disturbance under the wars of the nation. In his view the issue of legal tender notes for carrying on the war of the Rebellion was needless. The more heroic method of borrowing in the open market upon the basis of direct and heavy taxation would have been successful, and would have saved the nation to its financial morality. The evil of the method pursued under the war legislation was, in his opinion, not a *necessary* evil. In like manner he denounces the attempt to create a double standard through the recoinage of the silver dollar after the coinage had been discontinued. He points out with clearness the necessary effect of such legislation upon

the working classes. It can have no other effect than to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer.

Mr. Upton has written a book of fascinating interest, intelligible to all readers, full of information and sound to the core on all questions of financial legislation. It is of timely value in view of the fact that through the rapid payment of the public debt the bonds will soon be retired through the deposit of which the national banks obtain their circulation, thus reopening again the whole matter of paper circulation for the country.

*Wm. J. Tucker.*

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

*George H. Ellis, Boston.* Twenty-five Sermons of Twenty-five Years. By William J. Potter. Pp. ix., 417. 1885. \$2.00.

*Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.* The Russian Revolt. Its Causes, Condition, and Prospects. By Edmund Noble. 16mo, pp. 269. 1885. \$1.00;—The Philosophy of Disenchantment. By Edgar Evertson Saltus. Crown 8vo, pp. 233. 1885. \$1.25.

*Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston.* The Four Gospels: Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf. With the Various Readings of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Meyer, Alford, and Others; and with Critical and Expository Notes. By Nathaniel S. Folsom, D. D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the Meadville Theological Seminary, 1849-61. Third edition. Pp. xxv., 496. 1885.

*James Pott & Co., New York.* A Study of Origins: or, The Problems of Knowledge, of Being, and of Duty. By E. De Pressense, D. D., author of "Jesus Christ: His Times, Life, and Work," "The Early Years of Christianity," etc. Second edition. Pp. xxxvi., 515. 1884;—Old Testament Characters. By Cunningham Geikie, D. D., author of "The Life and Words of Christ," "Hours with the Bible," etc. With Seventy-one Illustrations, Chronological Tables, and an Index. Pp. xii., 484;—Reasonable Apprehensions and Reassuring Hints. Being Papers designed to attract attention to the nature of modern unbelief, and to meet some of its fundamental assumptions. By Rev. Henry Footman, M. A., Vicar of Nocton, Lincoln. Pp. x., 173;—The Old and New Testaments in their Mutual Relations. By Frederic Gardiner, D. D., Professor in the Berkeley Divinity School, author of "Harmony of the Gospels in Greek," etc. Pp. ix., 352. 1885.

*Phillips & Hunt, New York.* The Women of the Reformation. By Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, author of "Women's Work for Jesus," "A Jeweled Ministry," "History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade," etc. With an Introduction by Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood. Pp. 460. 1885. \$2.00.

*Funk & Wagnalls, New York.* New Light on Mormonism. By Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson. With Introduction by Thurlow Weed. Pp. 272. 1885.

*Thomas Whittaker, New York.* Revelation, Universal and Special. By the Rev. William W. Olszen, S. T. D., Professor of Greek and Hebrew, St. Stephen's College, New York, author of "Personality." Pp. 259. 1885. \$1.25.

*S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago.* Hegel's Aesthetics. A Critical Exposition. By John Steinfort Kedney, S. T. D., Professor of Divinity in the Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minnesota, author of "The Beautiful and the Sublime." 16mo, pp. xviii., 302. 1885. \$1.25.

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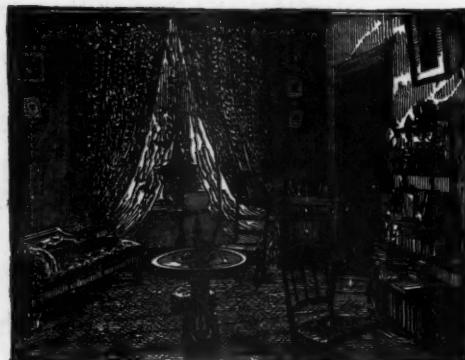
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